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from
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Aug 2 1922



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Ben Diamond

THE ORIGINS OF GERMAN MINNESANG

Thomas Carlyle was no believer in the Theory of Continuity as applied to literary expression. He did not believe that the mediæval lyric grew by a series of pendulum swings from a lower stage of verse, less native and less lyric. He denounced the Cabanis doctrine that poetry was a product of the smaller intestines "to be medically cultivated by the exhibition of castor-oil." Flat-footed he stood for the Theory of Inspiration and, after characterizing the Swabian period in a paragraph of singular beauty, he surprises us with the climactic phrase: "Suddenly, as at sunrise, the whole earth had grown vocal."¹

Now, perhaps it were wise to accept Carlyle's dictum—and so to bed. But unhappily the choice does not rest with us, for we have been beset round about with theories of extraneous origin for the Swabian efflorescence—the waste places of the earth have been searched that none might suspect minnesang to be a German matter. Jakob Grimm asked all but one hundred years ago: "Why must German poetry be made to sprout from a foreign seed, when it is so robust that it can have been fathered only by an indigenous unit?" And to this apparently rhetorical question much answer has been made.

For there is a mind so single to assuming an early Germanic home in the table-lands of Thibet, or in the arctic confines of upper Scandinavia, that it will never assent to the fertile plain of central Europe as the birthplace of the Teuton. The same mind is likewise so intent on seeking the source of any desirable thing in the forgotten corners of the world that it prefers to posit the Isle of Atlantis or Ultima Thule as the brooding-spot of early German love-song, rather than acknowledge it to be possibly rooted in south German soil. Thus the minnesinger has been made to steal his provision from many sources—he was ever influenced, it seems, from without rather than from within. We have theories of oriental influence through the convenient medium of the early

¹Cf. *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1900), Vol. II, p. 275.

crusaders and of the haughty Saracen. The ingenuous German minstrel has also been thought to be much shaken by the Byzantine ceremonial and etiquette introduced by Theophania. Much impulse was given him, we are told, by the renaissance of classical antiquity which came in the tenth century. There are theories of Celtic influence, first through an early mingling of Celt and Teuton, later through French mediation. There are, as we should expect, theories of Provençal and French influence¹—and I have even heard of Slavic traces which darkly shade the writings of Kürenberg and Hausen. But this last thesis slumbers in an unpublished doctor's dissertation.

Let us follow for the moment the development of a typical attempt to prove extraneous motifs the prototypes of the themes of early German minnesang. Only thus can we know how captivating this sort of play is. Gaston Paris says that minnesang had its form and spirit from the French lyric,² and Jeanroy in his famous but misleading book would prove the dogma.³ To begin with, Jeanroy cites the interesting but unimportant fact⁴ that manuscripts of French lyrics precede by a few years those of their German congeners. This condition of affairs is made much of, and the main argument then proceeded to: The earliest German

¹ We may not stop at this time to dwell on the development of these hypotheses. The bibliography of the subject, which is a large one, is conveniently presented in Schönbach, *Die Anfänge des deutschen Minnesangs*, Graz, 1898.

² *La poésie du moyen âge*² (1903), Vol. II, p. 41: "La magnifique littérature poétique de l'Allemagne, à la fin du xii^e et au commencement du xiii^e siècle, n'est que le reflet de la nôtre. Les *Minnesinger* ont transporté dans leur langue les formes et l'esprit de la poésie lyrique française."

³ *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*² (1904), chap. iv, part 2, pp. 274 ff. Jeanroy is ignorant of the latest literature on his subject, "La poésie française en Allemagne." He writes of a recent statement of Scherer's, although it was made in 1884.

⁴ Is such a fact not unimportant? Or shall we make the bibliography of the lyric the biography of it? Here is a pretty case in point: Prior to the year 1896 the view maintained that a certain sort of popular German ballad arose during the fifteenth century. This view of course was based on manuscript tradition. In 1896 Schröder published in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Vol. XVII, "Die Tänzer von Kolbigk") a stanza in Latin translation of just such a sort of popular German ballad from about the year 1013:

Equitabat Bovo per silvam frondosam,
Ducebat sibi Merswinden formosam.
Quid stamus? Cur non imus?

As it were, *Es reitet Bovo durch blättrigen Wald*—Beegnet ihm Merswind wohlgestalt, etc. From 1896 on criticism may now establish the popular ballad (sung to the accompaniment of the dance) as one of the main roots of the lyric—the other two ascertainable roots, according to Kögel (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*, Vol. I, part 2, 1897, p. 650), being the strophic epic and the Latin *vagantenlyrik*.

lyrics center about three motifs: (a) *separation*; (b) *absence*; (c) *reunion*. Now, these very themes Jeanroy discovers to be those of French lyrics which exist in slightly earlier texts. Therefore the *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, the *quod erat demonstrandum*: French lyrics are the source of German lyrics.

How futile such "proof"! What other motifs than the three of Jeanroy are found in simple, popular love-lyrics anywhere, let the initiated ask. Erotic popular verse which excludes reflection must needs content itself with (a) the presence of the loved one and the pertinent bodily charms; (b) sighs for the absent one's return and a sketching in of attendant loneliness, fear of unfaith, or fear of death; (c) the loved one's return, and the joys of surrender and possession. Particularly does naïve erotic song lend itself amiably to such treble classification, if one be as adaptable in applying captions as is Jeanroy. Let us take up our *Minnesangs Frühling* (edd. Lachmann-Haupt⁴, 1888) and turn to the anonymous pieces. *Dû bist mîn, ich bin dîn* goes into pigeonhole (c), *reunion*. *Waer diu werlt alliu mîn* falls gracefully into compartment (b), *absence*, etc. Not simple poetry alone, but all the facts of life and death as well, will yield to such quacksalvery.

Gawk-handed, however, as Jeanroy's attempt to find the source for German lyric outside of Germany may be—awkward and funny as other similar attempts have been—it is still to be preferred to the procedure of those scientists who have tried to build up a lyric from something other than a lyric. Lachmann used to teach that prior to the twelfth century Germans expressed their erotic impulses in narrative form, and today we are told that the lyric developed very slowly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in part under the influence of the Latin goliard poetry, in part as an offshoot of the epic and the ballad.¹ We even learn of an undifferentiated poetry—whatever that may be.

Mr. Gummere, for example, presumes that poetry had to pass through ages of preparation, in order to create its communal elements. Circling in the common dance, moving and singing in the consent of common labor, the makers of earliest poetry, he

¹ Kögel and Bruckner, "Althoch- und Altniederdeutsche Literatur," *Pauls Grundriss*² (1901), Vol. II, p. 33.

says, put into it the elements without which it could not thrive. Afterward—we are not told when—communal poetry brought forth individual poetry by a sort of fissiparous birth, and an asexual poet, who was every member of the throng in turn, detached himself. Later—the approximate date of this occurrence is not hinted at—this solitary artist came at last to independence by means of short improvisations; the communal fashion of poetry became a lost cause, the poet took the place of the choral throng, and his triumph was complete. *Das volk dichtete nicht mehr.*

For Mr. Gummere as a theorist on the origins of poetry there can be no censure. Such a picture of the coming-to-be of rhythmic utterance as he paints for us is as acceptable perhaps as any which the imagination can construct. It is at least conservative. Compared with the theorist on the origins of language who endows protoethnic man with the power to achieve different words for things clearly and distinctively; compared with the syntactician who gives primitive human beings a feeling for the accusative case as typifying the direction toward which, or as typifying contact, there is an indwelling reasonableness in Mr. Gummere's premises. But there may be censure for those who believe that Mr. Gummere's artist had not detached himself from the throng so late as the first century of the Christian era; for those who read in the *Germania* of Tacitus that the poetry of Germans still consists of choral and communal song, and then maintain that lyric was not yet born; for those who read of this poetry of masses of men, of warriors moving into battle, of the tribe dancing at religious rites, and then assert with Lachmann that another thousand years would be required to bring forth the lyric.

Poor Tacitus! He told us only what he would, not what we wish he might have told. Conscious literature in the Roman provinces, he would have us know, consisted of choral song of epic-mythical content. And so it did. One does not tell history today in doggerel verses, nor did the German peoples spoken of by this tourist from the south; that sort of thing, if it be done in verse, requires the oratorio and the orotund. When Tacitus further says that these songs are the one way in which the Ger-

mans chronicle their history, he is thinking of the history of the clan, of the tribe, of its deeds and the deeds of its heroes. He is not dealing with that larger concept of history which a late age has read into it: the whole unvarnished story of the religion and customs of a people, their employment of the arts of peace, their relations with other peoples, their struggles for freedom of conscience and of intellect—*kulturgeschichte*. For the purpose of chronicling these matters no song of epic-mythical content, delivered to the great audience of the moot, sufficed.

But grant that the *Germania* is not an idyl after the manner of Voss's *Luise*; grant that it is neither a romance nor a political pamphlet, that its author had really left the walls of Rome before writing his book, and that the West Teutons along the Rhine were as he pictured them: a race *κατ'ἑξοκὴν*; drunken, but with a regard for the chastity of women which measured out death for the ravished vestal; primitive, but with a Chesterfieldian sense of honor. How does this affect that other part of the whole about which we should so gladly be enlightened? Was there no thud and beat of soldier song for weary German warriors? Did the drooping slaves toil on with never a plaint uplifted in drudgery? Was there no doggerel stanza for harvest festival, no boisterous pasquinade for nuptial rites, no dance couplet for flying feet, no swelling shout of lyric hymn in the mead-hall after victory was had? No low cadence to accompany the turn of millstone, no crooning chant for the restless child—no soul emptied forth in aught but the epic song of the clan? No lyric stanzas indissolubly connected with gesticulation, with the flourish of arms, with the swing and swaying of the body, with the stamping of feet? No lyric song rushed with blood, rising and falling with the color-pulse of emotional expression—a blurred cry the sole hiatus of it, an indrawn breath to mete its quantities? Tacitus said nothing of all this. Why should he?

As to the lyric in Germany, that is another story than Tacitus thought to tell his auditors. But suppose that the choral epic was the only form of song that came to conscious literary expression; suppose that all visible traces of popular lyric verse in later centuries were obliterated by the gathering despotism of the

church which antagonized the traditional blasphemies and obscenities of the people. The thing itself was surely not eliminated. For, as ever in our observation of the history of popular lyrical verse, under whatever climate or among whatever races, the moment that conditions unite to make possible the emergence of this people's poetry into public view and favor, that moment it appears full-born. In what nook or cranny of national consciousness it has lain hidden may not be determined, but it never fails to awake from its long winter sleep when the first breath of a new life is blown across it.

What then, it is pertinent to ask, may have been the nature of this submerged lyric, the popular forms of which continued in Germany throughout the obscure centuries prior to the budding and blossoming of minnesang? We shall come to this later, but first it is good to pause and take a view of the centuries with which we are to deal, to gain greater clarity for the coming discussion.¹

Once upon a time there was a period conveniently known to criticism as the Long Gothic Night. Man during these weary months and years was waiting, it seems, for Trissino's *Sofonisba*. Surely did Prometheus long for the coming of Hercules no more eagerly than did man for Trissino. Finally, however, it was determined that man need not wait for the birth of the adventi-

¹ It seems to me at least that this is necessary. Long before I had read the opening pages of Maitland's *The Dark Ages*¹ (1890), or seen Ker's Introduction (*The Dark Ages*, 1904), a new vista had been opened to my astonished gaze with each new book which treated of early mediæval Europe. The theater was the same perhaps, but scenery and action shifted marvelously. Books which tossed me about like straw before a gusty wind were Ampère, *Histoire littéraire de la France avant Charlemagne*², 2 vols. (1867); Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, 2 vols. (1891); Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 2 vols. (1895-1901); Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* (1901); Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*² (1899); Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought* (1884); Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great* (1877); Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (1903); Saintsbury, *A History of Criticism*, Vol. I (1900); Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*², 2 vols. (1896); Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*² (1900); Reich, *Der Mimus*, Vol. I (1903); Chambers, *Mediæval Stage*, 2 vols. (1903); and a dozen others scarcely less important. Even such encyclopædic collections as Ebert, *Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (1880-1889); Teuffel-Schwabe, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*⁵ (1890); or Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*⁷, Vol. I (1904), were powerless to aid except in details; and the scores of monographs devoted to single authors or single periods had each a new viewpoint. Clear as some of these books are, powerful as a few of them may be, interesting as they seem almost without exception, they leave the reader who would gain insight into the times with which they deal in sad confusion of mind. He feels that he has endeavored to witness one well-constructed drama, and has been given a fortnight of vaudeville instead.

tious Italian, and his sentence was so shortened that he was considered free as early as 1100 A. D. The critic who had adjudged that "the years from 440 to 1440 were a Dark Period of Time" was thus put clearly in the wrong and told that William of Poitou was to serve as redeemer from darkness instead of Trissino. Thus the beginning of the twelfth century is made the dividing line between Dark Ages and Middle Ages.

If we were to reduce to words the mental picture which many of us have of the past, I imagine the following vision, or something like it, would be the result: Two great mountain-ranges confront one another, on the summits of either of which loom "far-shining cities and stately porticoes." One of these cloud-capped peaks is the Græco-Roman world, the other is the modern world. Half-way down the side of the former of these ranges are the dwellers of the Silver Age; half-way up the side of the latter range are the dwellers of the age of Renaissance. But uncounted fathoms beneath in the dank valley is the night of the Dark Ages, and there in the grim hollow of ignorance and superstition dwells pre-mediæval man.¹

Well, what's in a name? Sunday is no better a day, I presume, for being Sunday—certain old retainers to the contrary notwithstanding. A rose by another name would smell as sweet. A man's a man for a' that—and if you call him Jew or call him Cagot. So no objection should be raised maybe to classifying six hundred odd years as the Dark Ages, and four hundred more as Middle Ages, were it not for a single element of danger which clings to such nomenclature. This danger is that many people—among them some who are old enough to know better—think these years so called because they are dark, or because they are middle. And then the joke ceases. *Dark* are they in so far as our straining sight cannot effectually pierce them. *Middle* are they only because of the self-sufficiency which will insist that we are the end. Final we are to none but ourselves; assuredly not to such as come after us. And the world will emerge from any slight deluge which follows our passing more easily than it rose when the water subsided from under the Ark.

¹ Such a picture is presented in Morison, *The Service of Man* (1887), p. 177; quoted from Ker, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

The German child felt sure that the pig was called *schwein* because of its unclean habits; adults who pursue a similar untoward reasoning demand that the Dark Ages be dark. Freytag and Seeck, to name but two of the scores who have drawn for us vivid pictures of barbaric Germany, present telling scenes of leanness and famine, brute force and brutish instinct, in these times. Who doubts the particularistic accuracy of their knowledge of the sources? It is only in their final assembling of facts, in their grouping of figures, that they fail to impress us utterly. Our gaze, dissatisfied with the meager story of the picture, is ever hunting beyond and behind for trace of the fulness, of the ruddy color, which we feel to belong in some measure to any age.

Let us dwell for a moment on the cause of this dissatisfaction which we rightly feel. Seeck, for example, like any other student of times which are dead, gets his information from a treble source: (1) from MSS contemporary with the events they chronicle; (2) from MSS of later ages which rely partly on hearsay and rumor; (3) from books which interpret MSS and other books not accessible to him. Now from these sources he derives a certain sum total which he interprets in terms of his own preconceived judgment—and this judgment is necessarily largely affected for good or ill by the conventional attitude of his immediate environment. Add to this the fact that but a vanishingly small portion of the manuscripts of remote times is left us—escaped from fire and sword, neglect and jesuitry, mildew and the worm—and one must agree that the life and spirit—the very nature—of an age is hidden from us. Certain of the conventions which gripped man's life in the past we may clearly read in manuscripts; several of the outward semblances which masked his under-life show bright from chronicles and memoirs long gone. Ceremonial and clothes, the external trappings of soul and body, the furniture of existence, are ours perhaps for the asking. But life can be distilled from these by no known alchemy. For what of the spoken word and the pitch of it, the careless laugh and the cause of it, the dying melody and the infection of it, the sigh and the meaning of it? We do not know barbaric Germany; we shall not hear and see it in any revelation which this world will bring. The essence of it, the aroma

and surface-touch of it, are gone past recall; nothing is left of it but recorded facts which bear it the ratio that an incomplete and stumbling lexicon bears the speech of the present day.

In one way these are warmed-over commonplaces, and may be lightly dealt with. In another way they must be recited like a credo by many of us before we go to our business of studying olden times. Otherwise we fall into the error of those who hold ages deftly in their grasp while they sum these ages in a sentence. How neatly turned is the following paragraph—one of the sort to be met with so nearly anywhere:

Throughout the Middle Ages life was so hard to live that ornament was impossible. You cannot imagine a primitive Briton embellished with the manners of the macaronis. Even the savage who decorates his canoe or polishes his kava-bowl approaches nearer to delicacy than did our woaded, touzle-headed ancestor; etc., etc.¹

For just how many hundred years will Mr. Whibley have us believe our ancestor was "Then the monster, then the man | Tattoo'd or woaded, winter-clad in skins"? And how can this author assert that ornament was impossible when our ancestor took such pains with his woad? He may even have had a lyric or two, although he possessed not the throat of a troubadour or the manner of a macaroni—for Botocudo and Mincopy have lyrics as surely as they have kava-bowls.

Suppose the Dark Ages were dark. How dark were they? There is nothing whimsical about this query which Maitland² discusses with so much point. Let us adapt his figure: We who live in the twentieth century are within a room in which a rush-light is burning; contrasted with the brightness of this room, the outer world shows black, although it is filled with serviceable twilight. On the road without are the figures of past centuries; let us say the figures of the time of Tribal Migration. Do we open our casement and cry out to them, "Have a care, or you will break your shins!"? Yes, we are tempted to do this; for we of little light believe less light to be pitch-darkness. *Pechkohlrabenschwarz* is the background of thunder-cloud given five centuries of German life, that the epic giants of the *völkerwanderungen* may

¹Charles Whibley, *The Pageantry of Life* (1900), p. 8.

²*The Dark Ages*, pp. 23 ff.

be properly foreshortened in the middle-distance; that the recrudescence of gray and gloomy ecclesiastical literature may be explained. There is nothing essentially dark about the life of these centuries, unless it be that we have read their story from a fairly large body of tedious churchly literature, and have imagined that existence under the conditions therein described must have been tolerably boresome. Should a certain sort of present-day missionary tract happen to be that one kind of reading-matter handed down to our epigonists, and should they interpret our life in terms of it, they might well consider themselves fortunate in not having fallen athwart an earlier age.

The sentimental figures which dominate the later popular German epics likewise aid in creating belief in darkened times. Mr. Francke draws us a grim picture of the migration period, and engenders within us a decided aversion to this time of gray and red: Alboin forcing upon his queen her father's skull as a drinking-cup; Rosamunde poisoning her paramour Helmichis, to satisfy her wanton desire for another; Sigibert murdered by the emissaries of his son Cloderic, who in turn is brained from behind with an ax by order of Clovis; the aged Brunhilde convicted of the murder of ten of her house, tortured for three days and torn asunder by wild horses. We seem to be listening to muffled tales of the House of Atreus when our ears are met by notes like these. And yet how changed is crime by advancing civilization? With the memory of fresh atrocities gleaned with each new day from the public prints, can dwellers in American cities assert honestly that much betterment has been had? A difference in method of the performance of crime between the seventh and the twentieth centuries may be noted—we scarcely use wild horses today, for example—but no difference in quality. And as to quantity, who can surely say that fewer crimes exist today? Ah, but the newspapers exaggerate! is the despairing protest. Yes, but then so did the minstrels who sang of the giants and the horrors of their day. And these minstrels were the newspapers of their time.¹

The antidote to Mr. Francke's picture, however, we have in

¹ Cf. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter*,² Vol. II, pp. 131 ff; Vogt, *Leben u. Dichten der deutschen Spielmänner* (1876), *passim*.

recorded literature of higher authority than attaches to any minstrel's roster. Cassiodorus tells us of Theoderic, the Italian prince, as he counsels with his chamberlain regarding measures to be taken with the harlots who ply their trade at the crowded entrance to circus and theater. Here are the half-mythical proportions of Theoderic shrunk; his beard, it is safe to say, is no longer touzled like that of Whibley's ancient Briton, but trained by a supple Roman barber; he turns maybe in leisure moments to Petronius Arbiter, as Napoleon did to the *Sorrows of Werther*—and there is no absurdity in the picture. We have merely had, like Mr. Francke, preconceived notions as to the Theoderic of conscious literature, and woe to him if he fall out of his rôle as an epic figure! His stance is with Sigfrid the Nibelung, with Etzel the Hun, and with that melancholy Hamlet of a Hagen von Tronje—with glooming Wate and with Hildebrand.

And oh, for the season's myth, with its creaking apparatus of spring-god and waberlohe, valkyrie and Walhalla! And oh, for every attempt to lead things mediæval and things new back to that reaction of man upon nature in the ultimate days of man's childhood! Mythological concepts have been so gaining ground of recent years that Haupt once prophesied no cock would crow, no goat send forth its natural odor, but that some follower of Jakob Grimm would convert them straightway into symbols of Teutonic deity—thirteenth-century redactions of animal fable and popular epic which revert directly to the beginning of things! What are these but no uncertain indications that we regard the Dark Ages as a dimly lighted nursery in which man spent his infancy, babbling and prattling naïvely as children will.

Who has not heard of the mediæval renaissance which Scherer erected of the dry bones of Notker, the *Waltharilied*, and Roswitha? This period of "bloom" Scherer gave two culminating points—800 A. D. and 1000 A. D. Let us regard such exercise of the imaginative faculty kindly; for did one cease attempting to rend the veil which shrouds the life of these centuries, all would remain in darkness. Let us patiently consider a theory of efflorescence built of such slender materials as these, even if it is amusing to witness the few known literary values shift rapidly

from one base to another, to form new combinations before each new theory of appreciation. Turn off the illumining light of fancy from the conscious literature of this time which has reached down to us, and the year 800 still belongs to the Dark Ages. Thumb the electric switch of this same illumining light, and 800 suddenly becomes Mediæval Renaissance Culminating Point Number One.

And yet I prefer Scherer's "restoration" to the proems of Ampère¹ and Bähr,² Ebert,³ Gröber,⁴ and Manitius,⁵ who would have us believe that lyric poetry was dead in the tenth century in Europe. Scherer reads between the lines and behind them; the others but strip the surface-peelings of meter and verbiage from the poets of five centuries, and say in their haste: Originality is dead. Scherer would reconstruct a Parthenon from a broken column and a bit of frieze; Traube the while suggests taking away from Alcuin a poem because *hiems* occurs within it as a dissyllable.⁶ Scholars are busy in forgetting that it is unsafe to reason from literature to life, except as one may choose the former for the simple sake of analogy. They suppose literature in some vague unexplained way to be an index to the social life of a time; this life is therefore read in terms of it; and then the literature in turn is interpreted in terms of the life which has thus curiously been discovered. Such a method of progression but describes a circle which brings us back to the original point of departure. After a few such peripheral tours all sense of direction and all direction of sense are lost.

Traube's exact historical method of narrow deduction from known facts is no safer than the inductive process by which Scherer builds up a forgotten age. Traube cannot see a lyric, unless he be shown one; Scherer knows that the requisite of lyric impulse and achievement exists in every environment—that it is as fixed as the stars. Like the stars, its glory may pale if the attention of man has been caught and held by a stronger light, but the impulse is ever there.

¹ *Op. cit.*

² *Die christlichen Dichter und Geschichtschreiber Roms*² (1872).

³ *Op. cit.*

⁴ "Übersicht über die lateinische Literatur (350–1350)," *Gröbers Grundriss* (1902), Vol. II.

⁵ *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie* (1891).

⁶ *Karolingische Dichtungen* (1858), p. 76.

Let us apply the Scherer method to something. Let us see if we can make a fair case for the presence of profane lyric during a time which has handed down to us in lyric form only the church hymns. We are not to prove a point, remember. We are merely to try to make it as reasonable to believe there was a Latin profane lyric at a certain time, as to believe there was not one. Scholars have rummaged this certain time through, found no actual profane lyrics, and therefore said—*perhaps* rightly—that there were none. And now for the method:

We may read the presence of profane lyric from the church hymn, which would seem to furnish an analogy too undeniable to gainsay. From the fifth century on the fervor of man's love for his Maker shone forth in unquestioned beauty from the religious lyric. Would you deny that aspirations of sense less idealized in tone paralleled these? It was a real world that was abjured in poems which variously prayed for the advent of the Holy Spirit and the Day of Wrath—or a world of straw. If a real world, then it held fast in its grip the wit and beauty of passing generations, for it was hardly escaped by prayer and fasting; it was filled with allurements to the flesh, for even to the ascetic eye the devil appeared in very pleasing guise. Are these things historically documented? Yes. Where? In lyric hymnology. A rainy afternoon spent with a collection of early hymns will prove the statement. Did some literature record this profane poetry, even if such literature was transitory and fed everywhere to the flames by some ultimate Louis the Pious? Yes. For if profane lyric song was not feared by many a Notker, then verily was the snare of the fowler not set—then Christian hymnology is an anomaly. For it counseled perpetual flight from nothing when none pursued. Why deal with the world and the lusts thereof, as if expression of these had changed considerably within the last few hundred years? Why judge all the world in the fifth or in the tenth century by a literature which fled the world and looked upward instead of outward? A most apt illustration crowds to utterance:

I doubt if a sharper contrast exists anywhere along the road of man's mental progress from religious vegetation to absolute egoism than is met with in two records of the tenth century. The

first of these deals with the entries of a monk during a period of twenty-four years. They are four in number and follow:

- A. D. 914. The Saracens were driven from all Italy.
- 926. Radechis the lord-abbot died.
- 931. The altar of St. Benedict was refurnished.
- 938. The sun was hid from the third hour to the fifth almost. We saw the sun, but it had no strength either of splendor or of heat. We saw the sky, but its color was changed—it was all livid.

These are, so far as we know, the sole notations in the span of one man's whole youth and adolescence. How glazed the eye, how inert the spirit, which opened with slow stare to the upholstering of a shabby frontal piece, to the passing of a petty prelate, to a partial eclipse of the sun, and to emancipation from the pagan—as if these were the four terms in an arithmetical proportion which spelled all of life! Led by just such evidence of poverty of wit as this leaf from a monk's diary, the literary critic has spoken pityingly of the Dark Ages unpierced by other gleams than those reflected from the past evening of paganism, unlighted by even the faintest dawn of modern times.

But there are marsh lights playing fitfully across this supposed gloom of spirit and intellect; for another record of the same period is a beautiful and tender love-song. A lover in his rooms awaits the coming of a tardy mistress. He has prepared for her a spread of spices and wines like unto Porphyro's. A choir boy and a singing-girl are chanting sweet melodies to the music of lute and lyre, slaves are bearing brimming goblets of colored wine; the lover bursts forth with the impassioned prayer:

Then come now, sister of my heart,
 That dearer than all others art,
 Unto mine eyes thou shining sun,
 Soul of my soul, thou only one!
 I dwelt alone in the wild woods,
 And loved all secret solitudes;
 Oft would I fly from tumults far,
 And shunned where crowds of people are.

O dearest, do not longer stay!
 Seek we to live and love today!¹

Now, who shall say whether the voice of the perfervid lover or that of the dullard monk utters the note of the tenth century? They are each of them but one note of it; the monkish voice the stronger perhaps, but the lover's voice by far less weak than is currently imagined. For there is every reason why monkish MSS have come down to us, and reasons just as near why tender love-songs, born of a moment's passion, past with the satiety which follows hard upon possession, spoken to an audience of one, should have been lost. What of the voices which have not penetrated to us from the tenth century, or of those which we have heard, but not as yet understood? Some one of the voices which swayed hearts as the wind sways the sea may never have reached us—and this may have been the living note of the century.

Poetry vanishes when the mood which gave it birth has fled; its form remains for the after-born to study and muse on, but its spirit is gone. Liquid fire it may be at utterance, cold marble it becomes under the petrefaction of time. The sunlight dwells within only as it dwells in the coal that is dug from the pit. We know that for some short centuries certain men trembled before the world to come; we do not know what other shudderings ran through their frame shaped like our own. How can we say that this was cold and corpse-like because our breath cannot infuse it with life? We know that window-glass was not to be had in the tenth century, that gunpowder was not in use; but we do not know that the same epoch was lacking in sensuous yearning for those essential beauties which so satisfy us.

Whatever our tenth-century love-song may be as regards structure, rhythm, and authorship, one thing it must be: it must be

¹ Cf. Haupt, *Exempla poesis medii ævi* (1834), p. 29; Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (1847), p. 196; Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song* (1884), p. 14.

Jam nunc veni, soror electa
 Et prae cunctis mihi dilecta,
 Lux meae clara pupillae,
 Parsque major animae meae.
 Ego fui solus in silva
 Et dilexi loca secreta;
 Frequenter effugi tumultum
 Et vitavi populum multum.
 Carissima, noli tardare;
 Studeamus nos nunc amare.

part of the very spirit of the time in which it was written, so far as the poet lived it out. Did he reflect the past? Not consciously at least, for he bolstered up his verse with no classical reminiscence or allusion. Did he reflect the future? Only in so far as he was made prophetic by the springtime of youth and love. Think of a literary criticism which feels that it must relegate poetry as impassioned as this to the past, or refer it to a later time than that in which it made its appearance. The critic does this, however, in order that the facts in the case may correspond with his previously conceived theory of the matter, whatever this may chance to be. Thus with *Lydia bella*, "which must have been writ later than the thirteenth century, because of its classical intensity of voluptuous passion":

Lydia bright, thou girl more white
Than the milk of morning new,
Or young lilies in the light!
Matched with thy rose-whiteness, hue
Of red rose or white rose pales,
And the polished ivory fails,
Ivory fails.¹

Thus again with the *Saevit aurae spiritus*, which on account of the glowing warmth of its coloring is thought unmediæval:

Flora with her brows of laughter,
Gazing on me, breathing bliss,
Draws my yearning spirit after,
Sucks my soul forth in a kiss.²

Thus with that pæan to victorious love *Quid plus? Collo virginis* which is thought "unmediæval in its phrasing, because it reminds on the one hand of Catullus, on the other of Poliziano":³

¹ Omitted from Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au douzième siècle* (1843), "parceque rien n'indique qu'elle appartienne à la période dont nous publions les poésies." Reprinted from *Gaudeamus*² (1879), p. 96:

Lydia bella, puella candida,
Quae bene superas lac et lilium
Albamque, simul rosam rubidam
Aut expolitum ebur indicium.

² *Carmina Burana* (ed. Schmeller 1847), p. 148; Wright, *Early Mysteries* (1844), p. 114:

Dum salutat me loquaci
Flora supercilio
Mente satis jam capaci
Gaudia concipio.

³ The sentence is quoted from Bartoli, *I Precursori del Rinascimento* (1877).

What more? Around the maiden's neck
 My arms I flung with yearning;
 Upon her lips I gave and took
 A thousand kisses burning.¹

Thus with the *Ludo cum Caecilia*, because it is difficult for the critic to believe that the "refinement, the subtlety, almost the perversity of feeling expressed in it" could be proper to a student of the twelfth century:

Sweet above all sweets that are
 'Tis to play with Phyllis;
 For her thoughts are white as snow,
 In her heart no ill is;
 And the kisses that she gives
 Sweeter are than lilies.²

These and many other songs criticism is determined to assign to as late a period as possible, because they are not compounded of the simples which it has for the recipe of mediæval literature. We are told that we may never more refer to the hymn in praise of Rome as a seventh-century production—it has already been brought by an industrious paleographer three centuries nearer to our own time. There remains but to declare it a forgery by Conrad Celtes or Macpherson.

O Rome illustrious, of the world empress!
 Over all cities thou queen in thy goodliness!
 Red with the roseate blood of the martyrs, and
 White with the lilies of virgins at God's right hand!
 Welcome we sing to thee; ever we bring to thee
 Blessings, and pay to thee praise for eternity.³

¹ *Carm. Bur.*, p. 145:

Quid plus? Collo virginis
 Brachia jactavi.
 Mille dedi basia,
 Mille reportavi.

² *Carm. Bur.*, p. 151:

Ludo cum Caecilia,
 Nihil timeatis;
 Sum quasi custodia
 Fragilis aetatis.
 Ne marcescant lilia
 Suae castitatis.

³ First printed by Niebuhr in the *Rheinisches Museum*, Vol. III (1829), p. 7. This hymn was at thought anterior to the seventh century (Du Ménil, 1843, p. 239), but has recently been declared a much later production; cf. Traube, *O Roma Nobilis* (1891):

O Roma Nobilis, orbis et domina,
 Cunctarum urbium excellentissima,
 Roseo martyrum sanguine rubea,
 Albis et virginum liliis candida!
 Salutem dicimus tibi per omnia,
 Te benedicimus, salve per saecula.

Another thing than the foregoing poem which has been moved three centuries nearer us is that first known synodical decree against the *familia Goliae* which Père Labbé says is of the year 923,¹ but which Du Méril and others state half-heartedly must belong to the thirteenth century. If Labbé be right, the tenth century becomes in a flash a time, not only of sadly twisted and tortuous Latin prose, but a time when Latin popular lyrics, *cantica diabolica amatoria et turpia*, are in full sweep across Europe; a time when more than one poet might boast *perstrepuat modulis Gallia tota meis*. And why not? Because, as said above, the life of the tenth century has been read from a certain sort of literature, and all literature then interpreted in terms of the life thus deduced.

Small wonder, therefore, that we feel the Dark Ages dark! For so set are we in our view of twilight in northern Europe from fifth century to tenth that we can never agree to the existence of a whimsical Falstaff, an abbot of misrule, a bishop of Philistia, before the time of Walter Mapes and Philippe de Grève, Serlo of Wilton and Gautier de Chatillon. The idea that Goliath could have entered Europe in the ninth or tenth century, thus antedating Arnold's "philistine" by eight or nine hundred years, affects us unpleasantly. "But it is the bohemian and not the philistine who is Goliath!" we cry. "And that is the point of the story!" retorts the initiated. For the minstrel was quick to catch the slur pronounced upon him by the church and adopt it for his clan and ilk. If scriptural authority for this be necessary, said he, turn to the Gospel of Nicodemus where it may all be found. Others than the minstrel and since his day have gloried in an opprobrious epithet—*sans culotte* and Yankee among them; why not he? If the minstrel could quote scriptural authority for his *missa de potatoribus* and his *evangelium decium et lusorum*, if he had the pattern of hymns to the Virgin for his *Ave! color vini clari*, why must modern pedantry insist upon the derivation of *goliardus* from *gula*? Why must it contend with Giesebrecht?²

¹ *Sacrosancta concilia*, Vol. IX (1671), col. 1677; Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova collectio* (1769-92), Vol. XVIII, p. 324, evidently ascribes the decree to Gautier of Sens, who died in 913. Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61.

² "Die Vaganten oder Goliarden und ihre Lieder," two articles in the *Allgemeine Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur* (1853), pp. 10-43, 344-82.

and Hubatsch¹ that the goliards were clerks and formed into a close guild? Why not frankly admit that they were none other than the buffoons and merry-andrews; that their poetry was in accord with the spirit of its time; that it was composed by clerks and monks, janglers and spielleute of every description—sung in the streets by the people as well as in the schools, the churches, and the courts? However far we go in our journeying, one thing seems sure: the early centuries before the Middle Ages bore within them many, if not all, of the germs of what in literature we call modernity of spirit.

For it is just in these centuries that we come upon a veritable *joie de vivre* which demands unnumbered mimes, *joculatores*, *saltatores*, *spielmänner* to satisfy its manifold craving for pomp and show and entertainment. The memory of the Roman theater (vaudeville and pantomime) was alive throughout the western cities of the world; the highroad swarmed at times with singers and performers on their way to festival, wedding, and fair. Song and dance, canvas and tinsel, puppet-show and horse-play, local gag and market-place obscenity—when did these lack? So far as we may judge from unavailing capitulary and synodical fulmination, they were rife enough in every century from the fifth to the tenth. There may have been no languid northern ladies to emulate the *précieuses ridicules* of Rome, to adopt the drawling and doddering speech which Jerome characterizes, to write lyric verses for the play-actors as the Roman ladies did. But, *mutatis mutandis*, there was folly afoot in the north as in the south; and not every German matron was content to be that ideal combination of *hausfrau* and prophetess of which history speaks so warmly. Nor is the matinee-girl a creation of modern conditions; for much of the danger of the mime, we are told in chronicles, lay in the seeds of lechery he sowed in immature minds during his travels.

It is true that in the last two paragraphs we have been speaking of lyrics and literature written largely in the Latin language. But let us beware of neglecting as distinctly German productions songs which were sung in Germany, even if their dress be Latin.²

¹ *Die lateinischen Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters* (1870).

² In another study, soon to be published, I shall show that Scherer's assertion that the Latin dress of a song obscures all traces of its origin is not true.

Why should they be less German than were the thirteenth-century *Carmina Burana*? The language of these is not the speech of Flaccus made boorish and degenerate by mangling and decay of time and culture; it is the breath of the poet's quivering nostrils. And the poet is German, as like as not. The Latin is his thief's cant, his beggar's whine, his provision against starving. He uses it for gain, as others of his clan—the janglers and the harlots—do their merchandise. But it is more than jargon—it is more than the vehicle of his longing for meat and drink and lust. His spirit moves in it to unutterable invective and satire; he feels in it. This German has made Latin his very own, has adapted it to his condition, to the measure of his time and its thought. *Linden* may be *tilia* and *nachtigall* be *philomela*; but these are not of Ovid, these are of the landscape about him. And Cecilia and Phyllis and Juliana—these are the buxom wenches of his travels; they are no lay figures from antique pastorals; and their homeliness shines through the drab and purple of their borrowed plumage as an Iphigenie of Weimar does through the gloss of her Greek costume borrowed and worn for but a night. *Verteufelt human* despite their momentary pose in art! And the nature-introductions? These are not the personification of the *vis naturae* which the Latin school poets used—confess them frankly German as they are.¹

¹It is the insistence upon the Latin form of the *Carmina Burana* which causes the vexatious words of Saintsbury (*The Flourishing of Romance*, 1897, p. 6). They are, he thinks, inimitable stylistic exercises which owe their comedy to play upon words; to subtle adjustment of phrase and cadence; to graceless catachresis of solemn phrase and traditionally serious literature; to the innuendo, the nuance which they impart to dog-Latin. Now, who shall find in such words as these a fit describing of the satire, of the love for springtide and women which he remembers in early mediæval Latin lyrics? Who will be so blinded by the study of form as to regard as jocund "the concentrated scandal against a venerated sex of the *De conuge non ducenda*"? A more patient insight will recognize the moral aim and the religious significance of this philippic. And yet such dubitable characterization of Latin lyrics would not be vexatious in that it voices the mistaken impression of a single essayist, but rather because it is met with so nearly everywhere. The goliard songs are clearly written for melodies, it is said, and some of them are very complicated in structure, suggesting part-songs and madrigals with curious interlacing of long and short lines, double and single rhymes, recurrent ritornelles, and so forth.

The impression left by such words is one of stilted complexity, whereas the opposite is more often true. Many of these texts have been maimed to fit them properly to music, but many more are of such simple tenor and directness that they charm by reason of their very ingenuousness. And music, other than mere droning *volksweise* or strophic *récitatif*, was ordinarily added after the text had been made. Sure proof of this we have in the case of many a mediæval Latin lyric; for we know that the amorous odes of Horace were fitted to hymn tunes, and that goliards composed erotic songs in the convenient mold of churchly

If the form of a poem be the main element from which to read the spirit which dominates the theme, what should we have done if the *Nibelungen* story existed for us only in the Latin dress that Pilgrim of Passau ordered made for it by some court tailor? Should we have discovered in this lost Latin epic all the Germanic life and soul which we conceive to animate the thirteenth-century German redaction? Scarcely. For does not Trench¹ at the very moment of naming the *Waltherius*, the *Reinhardus Vulpes*, and Fulbert's song of the nightingale speak of "that dreariest tenth century, that wastest place, of European literature and of the human mind"? Might we not rather draw the opposite conclusion? Might we not say that German epic and ballad, village-yarn and lyric, were set particularly fast in the minds of people when they shimmer everywhere through a literature written down in Latin and within the walls of a monastery? Do not the tales of the monk of St. Gall and *Ruodlieb*, the *Waltherilied* and the *Ecbasis Captivi*, Schröder's Latin dance-measure and Werner's spring-songs,² tell of German tale and lyric in these "wastest" times? Does the delectable pots-and-pans scene in Roswitha's *Dulcinius* remind the reader of Terence or of a *schwank*? And no stretch of the imagination is required to conceive such a theme as that of her twice-told harlot and hermit story existent in German minstrel repertory³ long before it entered the gates of Gandersheim.

Let us use *Ruodlieb* as a paradigm for study. We learn from it that Latin was the vehicle for any serious attempt at authorship in this wastest time; that a language modeled on Vergil and Prudentius had become flexible enough to describe the environing world of men and nature. It also makes manifest how deeply monastic philosophy penetrated literature and how people relied for truth upon maxim, the unnatural history of the *Physiologus*, and sheer rumor. These and other things this novel evidences

trope and motet. Thus, though music was often made a procrustean bed to which the text must fit, changing and twisting to suit the needs of the melody, the very same text in other versions which have not been re-edited for the sake of some pre-existent melody show clearly enough how simple the original structure of the poem was.

¹ *Sacred Latin Poetry*³ (1874), p. 47.

² *Germania*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 230.

³ In some such form as the story of the snow-child, or the tale of the Swabian who outwitted the king. For a sympathetic study of Roswitha's effort and environment cf. Winterfeld, "Hrotsvit's literarische Stellung," *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, Vol CXIV (1905), pp. 26 ff.

to the literary historian, and they have come to be part of the stock knowledge of every passing student. Measures and values to determine the condition of designedly artistic literature in tenth- and eleventh-century Germany have therefore been got from this source and other like springs of information, and consequent dicta have been formulated. These dicta quite unfailingly compare the sad condition of mediæval German literature in the tenth and eleventh centuries with the happy upswing of the two following centuries which culminated in Vogelweide, Eschenbach, Gottfried, Hartmann, and the rejuvenated *Eddatorso*. This process of evaluation is succinct, exact, and based upon warrantable fact.

It is a process, however, which eliminates, or at best subordinates, the popular background of *Ruodlieb*. And just this monkish novel, despite its unwieldy hexameters, despite the fine feathers of its contemporary erudition, bears no uncertain testimony that the gist of it, one might almost say all that is good of it, is derived from popular literature. The characterization of the actors in this mosaic romance may have been due, as so often stated, to the genius of its author; but is more likely to have existed in precedent generations of *märchen* and *schwänke*. And, what is more important, the spirit and color of some of it must have found expression in lyric form before it was made narrative.¹ This antecedent body of tales and lyrics finds better proof from *Ruodlieb* than does the first "classical period of heroic song and story" which Scherer assumes to be back of the *Hildebrandslied*. Now, neither of these two "periods" should be over-readily accepted even as working hypotheses perhaps, but they do both answer well to the truth that the germs of every renaissance² are found, not

¹Some statement of this is made below.

²Why will we so persist in positing "periods" and "times of new birth" in our histories of literature? For is not the final test of any "renaissance" a numerical one after all? The great revival which took hold of Europe from the fifteenth century on is of supreme importance as a movement, I take it, not because it carried in its bosom all the treasures of the past and all the glories of the future, but rather because it was heard and shared so nearly by all men. The so-called Abortive Renaissance in the reign of Charles the Great was still-born in that it penetrated the hearts of so few men, rather than because it made literature the handmaid of theology. The merely numerical question as to how many men in Charles's realm participated in this "renaissance" is as instructive in its suggestiveness as the similar query concerning the number of children affected by the Slaughter of the Innocents. A vanishingly small group in either case—despite Scherer and Gustave Doré.

in the traditional elements of antiquity which conscious artists conventionally copy, but in the vernacular body of popular tradition which precedes such florescence, in the "humbler" literature which is part of the very spirit of the time itself. Thus when, as with *Ruodlieb* and with earlier Latin literature in Germany, criticism looks singly to the form and denies content and theme, the spirit of a time is sure to be misunderstood, in so far as it is reflected in story and lyric. There were, that is, in mediæval Latin literature no single elements calculated to produce so great a novel as *Ruodlieb*, such limpid lyrics as the *Carmina Burana*. The impulse which was life-giving came from the German spirit of the age that gave them birth. There was in Latin literature everywhere the frame, the form, the pliant meter, the ready rime; but for the cosmopolitan breath of them the awakening spirit of the tenth and twelfth centuries had no other model, no other point of departure, than in the natural, national basis beneath them.

Now, who would say that there was in the tenth century so perfect a body of lyric verse as there was in nineteenth-century Germany? None, I imagine. For Goethe and Uhland and Heine may be accounted masters of literary technique and artistic expression beyond any presumable tenth-century lyricist, just so surely as they surpass in these respects Reinmar, Walther, and Hausen. But, except for this matter of form, is there added excellence of treatment? Is there, as Ker asks, any sudden shock of transition in turning from Goethe, Hugo, or Tennyson to the twelfth-century rimes of Provence? Except purely as a matter of form, is the development of erotic passion arrested at certain stages in a nation's history, to overflow at other stages the edge of the brimming cup? Is the difference in art-expression, that is, a variation in underlying emotional capacity, or is it a variation in the use of terms?

If one might in a single graphic sentence describe the attitude which our minds ordinarily assume toward early German poetry, I imagine it would read much as follows: Rome had a great body of literature of much beauty; corruption from within and the barbarian from without destroyed it; for some centuries the primitive German hordes cared not for poetry other than for an epic song

of certain native attractiveness; gradually, however, cosmopolitanism set in, and all the forces of the new culture and of broadening life brought about the tardy bloom of lyric and drama.

Well, as a study of literary form apart from literary theme this sentence might stand perhaps, although I doubt if anything but the final polish of artificial poetry is brought by one people to another of a different clime and period. But as a study of theme such a sentence is vastly misleading. For we may classify the lyrics of Heine under Jeanroy's three captions as easily as we can those of any forgotten twelfth-century lyricist. Heine undoubtedly had at his disposal a conventional symbolism which his unknown predecessor lacked; he was heir to a thousand whimsicalities of expression unused by the earlier epoch, but the basic ingredients of the lyric of both artists were at hand. The sun which colors flowers colored youth more years ago than a thousand. Fragrance of flower and of youth found expression of some kind to stir contemporary sense. Uses of flower and youth are much the same in any age, except as under differing conventions they come to various art-expression.

In the human rutting-season, when Darwin's male called rhythmically to proethnic female, the form of the lyric was simpler than when æons later, under the formulæ of etiquette, of caste, and of religious strife, the sexes were segregated. But in the former time there was hindrance to natural selection, though not in the shape of a castle wall; there was coquetry, though not carried on with guitar and fan; there were lyric impulse and incoherence, though they did not find expression in the artificial senility of *minnedienst*.¹ And who shall say that this rutting-

¹ Jespersen will not wait for Lyric until Language came. He assures us that men sang out their feelings before they were able to express their thoughts. He thinks of the first utterance of humankind as "something between the nightly love-lyrics of puss upon the tiles and the melodious love-songs of the nightingale." These words are unreasonable, contends many a critic of Jespersen's—at least they are undignified. Dignity! How art thou confounded with starchy stiffness of mien. Must we forever follow Whitney and Madvig, and picture primitive man as majestically poised, ponderous in manner like the modern scholar whose shoulders bend beneath their Atlas-load: the burden of the accumulated wisdom of the centuries? Instead of portraying to us before language an all-enveloping silence—a void of sound like unto the formless earth and the darkened deep of Genesis; instead of contending that man achieved language by hypodermically injecting thought-content into the phonetic result of muscular effort, Jespersen believes that language, like love, was born in the courting-days of mankind. Lad and lass vie with one another to attract the other sex; the source of speech lies, not in seriousness, but in merry play and in

season did not disappear uncounted thousands of years ago? Certainly not the anthropologist. To the best of our recorded knowledge, the Germans of the first century after Christ had a reverence for women which no modern time has exceeded. There was sufficient incentive for the poetical expression of sighing ardor in a law which regarded sin against chastity as unflinchingly as did the Mosaic code.

What form this expression took we do not know. It was not exposed by Tacitus. Perhaps it was not thought fit for serial publication in the *Germania* or the *Annales*. But because we do not find from this time conscious treatment of sighing ardor as literature, we need not necessarily suppose there was stint of it in the social life of the period. If the philologist may place an asterisk before a word which the eye of man has not seen, and denominate this word *urform*, *nicht belegt*, we may star a lyric or two now and then which the ear of man has not heard. Except for matters of pure externality, he who would deny the German of the "dark" ages a lyric must be prepared to carry the burden of proving his contention.

What may have been the nature of the submerged lyric, the popular forms of which continued in Germany throughout the obscure centuries prior to the final budding and blossoming of minnesang?

Early Latin, we know, possessed at least five distinguishable sorts of popular song: (1) rustic dance-measures sung and trodden after the labor of a day in the fields; (2) sailors' chanteys; (3) soldiers' marching-songs; (4) mendicant stanzas of the beggar soliciting alms; (5) fescennine verses for nuptial rites. Documentary evidence for all of these exists and—to be quite at peace with the literary critic—we shall rest content to pretend that no other kind of popular song whatsoever was ever sung in early Latin times than just those which have happened to come down to us in the above enumeration. The question of accent versus quantity

youthful hilarity. Everyone is singing his best and dancing his bravest to lure a pair of eyes. On the rim of the world life is green and gay. And if we are to believe certain theorists, and agree that several hundred thousand years later European life was all grim epic and nowise soft-lyric—why, then the world was dying of old age and rigor mortis was upon it. But tenth-century Germany was not primitive.

(rhythm versus meter) will be no bone of contention; the critic may continue undisturbed in his belief that it took several Christian centuries to effect the miracle of accentual utterance in singing Latin verses. It is enough for us to know that while Cicero was declaiming to partially interested benches in the senate, while Vergil was toiling at the funeral pyre of Dido with never a misplaced quantity, nightingales were singing in the Italian woods.

Now, the fescennine verses which pre-Christian Latin knew appear in European literature certainly as early as the eighth century; grossly obscene, doubtless, so that one may not deny the proud claim of their authors—*non es poeta, Priape, fascinosior nostro*; caustic rhymes, as different from the calm purity of narrative popular poetry as the sting of a bee is different from the song of a lark; but so clutching in their ribaldry that in later ages all the fulmination of church and state availed as nothing against them.

Every race possesses a popular literature whose spirit is a scurrilous wit;¹ the people's songs and tales are as racy as they are racial before they have been pruned by convention and prepared for parlor presentation. Such rank verbiage betokens a virility beyond that enjoyed by any form of polite or conscious literature. The one element in the age-long history of literature which has remained immutable amid all the eddying and shifting currents of change is this same scurrilous wit; this stinging, plaguing, tormenting, coarse-fibered wit; *facetiae*, *fabliaux*, *schwänke*, *schnurren*, *dorfgeschichten*, *jeux partis*—coherent and identical—unvarying in their grotesque situation-humor and caricature. Not necessarily sensual is this wit, but materialistic, viewing man frankly as an object among objects in the visible universe, as a product of nature like the plants and the animals. From the earliest *gestanzeln* and *wmileod* of the Carolingian nunneries to the latest epigram of the Tyrolese peasant, there has been no permutation of it. If one but study the modern *schnaderhüpfel* under the guidance of Gustav Meyer or Schuchardt, one will find

¹ Cf. the writer's "Studies in Popular Poetry," pp. 14 f., *Decennial Publications*, Chicago, 1902.

close kinship between these vernacular reaping-couplets and the antithetic, often leprous, Latin *fescenninae*.

Satire and sarcasm of much thoroughness would seem a heritage of the German. In that *bagan* which was more than half the battle, in the *gabs* which filled the mouth to cracking—what have we in early popular balladry but the flash of these everywhere? What were the rhapsodical lyrics which adversaries threw into each other's teeth—when Hildebrand and Hadubrand faced each other—when Walther of Aquitaine snarled at Hagen—when the adultress and the red-haired thief of *Ruodlieb* stood bare before the multitude at the scaffold's edge? Lost are these in lyric form, but they can be read, with no amazing cleverness to help one, from the narrative dress which clothes them. *Schimpflied* and *schlumperlied* can scarce have failed in ages of simple hate, boasting, and revenge; ages which were pervaded by drunkenness, and the custom of rapine and slavery; ages where impulse was father to the deed, with no obstacle to intervene. Lyric *pervigilia* there must have been during those most astounding festivals which filled the time from *polterabend* to *brautbett*. Narrative strophes may have sufficed for the village yarn of the sentimental middle-class mother who hears of the returning *Ruodlieb* from the boy in the tree; but there was lyric utterance of a kind back of the lost episode of the lady-of-the-garters who had been overgood to the clerk, back of the text which a most emancipated *fräulein* reads to the surprised nephew, back of the dying moan which the outraged husband makes to his young wife. And in times when deformity and disease were considered a scourge from heaven there were mocking-songs. Who would say that the mischievous spirit of such *spottlieder* so avoided the vocative case of address, so avoided the second-personal note of direct apostrophe, that the narrative third person of the preterit indicative was alone felt to answer?¹

And the mendicant songs. Gypsy and outlaw, mime and minstrel, bear-leader and itinerant peddler, clerk and quack, were each on his own pilgrimage bent. Every age has its freemasonry

¹ As in the mocking stanza on the jilting of Liubene's daughter, preserved to us in a ninth-century manuscript (cf. Müllenhoff u. Scherer, *Denkmäler*³ (1892), No. XXVIII^b); or the verse on the man from Chur (Kögel, *Littgesch.*, Vol. I, part 2, p. 165).

of wayfarers; and every age which has given us record of such has left us many a whining stanza to elicit pity and alms. When monastery furnished asylum to these creatures of circumstance, the labors of the quiet monk who bent above the unfinished initial were often interrupted by scurvy chants of drinking which parodied Bible and hymn. In earlier times, when the sky was the only roof for the heads of *schirmaer*, *gigaer*, *goukelaere*, and *schuolaere*—before the adoration of the Virgin had given the model for *potatoria*, the New Testament evangels for *lusoria*, and scarce-remembered lines from Ovid and Flaccus the very mold for *amatoria*—the scene rang with vagabond lyric; unless—with the literary critic—we would deny the solace of song to an age which needed it sorely in the open and at the chimney breast, merely because the only tones which have reached us in the conscious literature of the educated classes of these times are those of harp and organ.

Körting finds in the national character of the German a mingling of contrasting elements: a masculine fierceness and coarseness adjoined to a certain emotional susceptibility, a dreamy melancholy quite feminine in tone. These contrasts are manifest in Anglosaxon poetry. The clash of swords and the rattle of mail sound forth in *Beowulf*, in the *Fight at Finnsburg*, in *Byrhtnoth's Death* and other epic pieces. But side by side with these is the elegiac sentimentality of such poems as the *Ruin*, the *Wife's Complaint*, the *Husband's Message* and the *Complaint of Deor*. If it be unwise to advert to them as distinctly lyric pieces because of their verse-structure and mannerism of diction, it is still permissible to say that these four compositions show clearly enough what the character of a real body of early Germanic song was like. Lyric song, too, which may equally as well have been taken across the English Channel from an original continental home, as any *materia epica* found in *Beowulf* or the *Fight at Finnsburg*. But it is only the absence of such lyrical pieces in any known German manuscript which leads the historian to assert that a national literature began to develop in Germany much later than in Britain. And despite this lack it would seem that the testimony of the *Hildebrandslied* was enough to convince

him that an abundant and early folk-poetry existed in Germany, one which need not have been exclusively heroic and epic in tone. A like message may be read regarding Francia from the song which celebrates the victory of Chlotar over the Saxons in the year 620, and which the women still used in the ninth century as a dance-song, or from the presumable historical ballad which deals with Childebert's campaign against Saragossa in 542.¹ For, did we possess no other mention of Anglosaxon lyrics, we might yet read of their presence in the *Wanderer* or the *Seafarer*. And when we meet in the *Hildebrandslied* no small degree of æsthetic maturity how shall we believe that the artist ever found his appeal alone in the form of the heroic epic, rather than in the mold of lyric elegy?

Are these lyrics of one sort and another, which we have just been discussing, German in form or Latin? Sometimes the one without doubt, sometimes the other, and not improbably on occasion that strange *doppelbräu* of "lustic Tiutsch und schoen Lattin als ein frischen brunnen und starken win gemischet," of which Trimberg speaks. Controversy as to whether these lyrics did or did not exist before the eighth or ninth century in Germany is of small avail, for neither side of the contention can be definitely proven, if manuscript tradition be relied upon.² Simply because the manuscripts do not exist, so far as we now know. But personally I doubt if I shall ever be convinced that the German lyric, such as we have almost continuously known for eight centuries or more, was non-existent before say the year 1150, being discovered between night and morning of some individual day. Nor shall I believe it imitated from a foreign source in any of its essential phases. Nor shall I deem it a thing consciously evolved.

¹ Cf. Lenormant, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, I, 1, p. 321.

² We have likewise no French manuscripts prior to the twelfth century which contain lyric songs. And yet who can read without feeling their inherent truth Gaston Paris's remarks about the lyric of the Merovingian Epoch (486-751 A. D.): "Various evidence shows us that at the festivals the youth of both sexes danced to the sound of songs which the Councils condemned as immodest, and which were merely love-songs; that the repasts where the Romanised Germans gave themselves up for entire nights to their hereditary vice, drink, were enlivened by songs; that satirical songs were composed which the authorities were compelled to forbid. This shows us that popular poetry was abundant."—*Medieval French Literature*, p. 17. Cf. also Du Ménil (1847), pp. 189 ff.; Gröber, *Zur Volkskunde aus Concilbeschlüssen* (1893); Maasen, *Concilia ævi Merovingici* (1893); Gröbers, *Grundriss*, Vol. II (1902), p. 444.

Its origin seems no mystery, nor are its functions wrapped in impenetrable darkness, unless we make the lyricity of any century depend for good or ill on a single statement of manuscript. It is through such literality of labor that our time has suffered in its conception of Dark Age and Middle Age, quite as much as through what criticism often regards as the extravagant and fantastic claims of Jakob Grimm, Müllenhoff, Lachmann, and Scherer.

Where is the light? Is it in allowing nothing to any time long gone which is not recorded in discovered hieroglyph? Shall we deny to Babylonian culture some one of the world's ingredients for pain and pleasure because of tablets yet undug? Is it in so emphasizing one message of a people to posterity that all other messages are neglected? This is but to deepen the mire of traditional belief until it amounts to superstition; as we are discovering is the case with Greek civilization which we have accounted so "classical" in its teaching that all its romanticism has been forgot. Is there no argument possible from the point of view of common humanity, which shows much the same in any age; or shall the only testimony accepted by the court be that of circumstantial evidence?

These questions as to the life and literature of past ages cannot be solved. But surely, so long as the field of our immediate investigation be the lyric or drama, we must accept much on the purely emotional grounds of kinship of race and experience; for we can never study distant times from deposits and strata; we cannot reconstruct fossil growths from bone-vertebræ; we cannot apply the researches of Darwin or Spencer or Haeckel to the organic study of the common basis of literature, as if this were an accretion of protoplasm.

Is this not universally done? I have in mind, as a striking instance in point, a brilliant study in cross-section of the tenth and eleventh centuries in Italy. There is the life of the clergy spread out before you, as an anatomical wall-map is unrolled before the astonished eyes of the schoolboy. It makes brilliant reading, that part of the book which seems like a blood-stained chronicle of the crime of old Newgate. Some of it is dull work—particularly the section which deals with simony and church

disorganization. But the chapter on poetry is a wonderful instance of how much may be left unsaid. Poetry—we are told therein—was in these centuries nothing but grammar and rhetoric. Concise at least is this information; would that many a chapter of teaching were as succinct! But is the author right? Is it true that one might have walked the length of Italy during two centuries and never heard a happy lyric song? When one remembers that the Greenlander has poetry full of lyric sweep and love for nature, when one knows that even the Andaman Islander is inclined to lyric expression, what unerring testimony may our author have possessed, to pronounce so cathedral a statement? The source of his learning is discoverable: it lies in a collection of book-titles known as the “bibliography” of the subject. And the biography of the subject is to be taken from this? What superstitious reverence for books has fastened its tentacles on this enlightened age?

With this failure fresh in mind, would it seem worth while to collect further evidences from conscious literature of the presence of the lyric in pre-mediæval Germany? Would it repay the effort if we exhumed stray lyric bits here and there, treated them with formalin to repair their freshness and exposed them as added proof? I doubt it. And yet there is Fridugisus’s farewell to his cell, with its insistent note of pathos, its elegiac beauty, no matter if it be distorted by an occasional commonplace orthodoxy and the poor masque of attempted classicality. And there is Strabo’s love-letter, as tender and pure as a quatrain of Eichen-dorff’s. Again and again we are struck by the color and life of stanzas and couplets from the poetic letters of the Carolingian poets and their successors. Buried they often are amid endless chaff, but even a careless search through the convenient material will lead the student to acknowledge that pedantry, imitation, stiffness of borrowed quantitative structure, canting godward—naught can quite obliterate even in such artificial pieces the vista of real poetry that stretches out behind them. And if a love for nature penetrated into this machine-made versification, if sunlight and beauty gleam through rifts in the shade cast by conventional piety and pose, shall we believe that the unseen and unheard

world of laymen found no expression for the passionate unrest which animates ever the human breast?

To me I confess the suggestion carried by the ballad measure *Equitabat Bovo* is as wide and conclusive as any gained from the most extensive of epics—where light and lyric lilt are in question. The mere remnant of *Hirsch und Hinde* tells its own story quite as effectively as a capitulary against face-powder and love-songs, were the latter a thousand lines in length. The popular strophic structure of the *Samariterin*, the *De Heinricho*, and the *Ludwigslied* bespeaks an environment of song and swaying rhythm by the cool well under the village lindens. The verses which Notker used as paradigms in his rhetoric are the despised utterances of the people which live in any age. The erased love-song in the Cambridge manuscript is a single nugget which draws the gaze of the prospector to a soil which hides a mine of unearthed gold.¹ What are these and other like hints to mean for us but that the lyric choir invisible is singing? Why ask for more than a single yellow gleam from the parted thunder-cloud to tell us that the sun is shining above it, that past warmth and future glory are promised by it as fully as by the blaze and glare of torrid noonday? And even if no single gleam appears and the whole sky is gray, does not the memory of other days and other times inform us that the sun is there, albeit shrouded from our human gaze?

Which shall we subscribe to—this doctrine of an ever-present inspiration, or that other orthodoxy of continuity which ever derives one thing from another? Theory of Continuity—what sins have been committed in thy name! By what insensible gradations has the lyric had to grow! Tirelessly and from lower organisms must we trace its development. Impulse—other than the unexplained initial impulse—there has been none. Inspiration—other than that first breath of God or chance—has been impotent to alter by jot or by tittle the unnumbered accretions

¹Scherer long ago directed attention to the beautiful *Verna feminae suspiria*, an example of pathetic fallacy which seems remarkable because of the early date of its composition (end of tenth century). Cf. Scherer, *Geschichte d. deutschen Dichtung im XI. u. XII. Jahrhundert* (1875), p. 8; Jaffé, "Die Cambridger Lieder," *Z. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. XIV (1869) p. 492; Winterfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

by which lyric has come to be. (And Adam begat Seth; and Seth begat Enosh; and Enosh begat Kenan.) Inherent need for utterance, recurrent power of full expression in personality, emergency of life—these have availed as naught against the insensate ongoing of plantlike growth which finally yields the lyric.

Let us see how current doctrine as to the genealogical tree of lyric expression sounds. Here it is: Scōp and minstrel, troubadour and spiellmann, sit with their elders in the seats of the mighty and sing full-throated to them as they eat. Not that the player actually invented his songs; he ever took his themes from somewhere else; he had ever been anticipated. Creation, it seems, was not of him, for men of a southern clime had grown up faster than had he, and they had stolen all his thunder. His very rhythms he had to get as best he could from other rhythms, and he lacked the consolation of knowing that these in their turn had been taken from things that look like rhythms but are not—things which we call meters. Verses these meters are which hang suspended and without stress on the lips of their awe-struck utterers. But though he could not create a lyric, the minstrel could graft one—and this afforded him some solace. So he sings care-free to his pleased auditors, and they pat him kindly on the shoulder and make him presents: a side of beef, a fur-tipped mantle somewhat out of fashion, or a foaming mug of ale.

His song he stole from the church. Now, it seems that the clerks coming out of the portal after a two-hour session with the liturgy drank deep draughts of the clear, sun-lit air and warbled the final vowel of the *allelulia-a-a-a*, till one would think they were never going to stop. Thereafter certain pious brethren reduced these warblings to many different set schemes, until there came to be such a deal of them that none could retain them all without confusion. Years passed, but the knotty problem of mnemonic device remained. One day toward twilight a monk from the razed cloister of Jumièges toiled up to the gate of St. Gall with an antiphonary under his arm; and this book contained a syllable for every neume. On that evening this messiah of coherency freed the spirit of the mediæval lyric, for the men at

St. Gall now had sense to proceed with the erection of their musical sequences so that the clerks might retain them. And the lyric bloomed henceforth.

His rimes the minstrel got from a parent, who had in his turn derived them from certain homespun utterances of uneducated Romans known as popular songs. These Latin rimes too grew, curiously enough, quite by chance—like later Topsies; for they could not help growing in a highly inflected language. If the minstrel had had them to create all out of nothing, he might well have failed; but happily he had nothing to do but just sit by until the things evolved themselves. Not that rime came first in full shape—otherwise it might have descended overheavily upon the unready minstrel—but little by little. First the minstrel must be content with the homeopathic assonance; only he must be careful not to speak the ultimate consonants with much distinctness for some while, or he would rime before he was expecting it. The Latin inflection which saved the world from a sahara of blank verse may now be taken up and developed from something else, either from kindly Olympus or from a primordial cell.

Such is the Theory of Continuity as applied to the lyric. Its evident weakness lies in the fact that it presumes fifth- and tenth-century German to be as inefficient as a child, as groping as the untutored savage. Let us believe it not. For we know that he who would seek the remains of primitive man must hunt him in kitchen-midden and in barrow; in burial mound and beneath the lava beds and sands of the south. If the student thinks to find him where many a literary critic is searching—in fifth- and tenth-century Europe—he must not look outside of manuscript tradition; he must continue study of books alone. Let the student not confuse Literature with Life. For with literature as with men the good die young. Those whom the gods love they often refuse to share with posterity.

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A VENETIAN FOLK-SONG

It may be that D'Ancona is right in assuming the following song¹ to be welded together of three separate fragments.² But when he says it is badly welded he oversteps the mark.³ The joints of a ballad may be visible after the people are done with their soldering, but it is often an ill thing to denominate what they have joined mere casual patchwork; because reasons for such assembling of parts may exist, although the critic beneath his lamp behold them not. The *volkslied* is herewith divided, however, as D'Ancona suggests:

	O morte dispietata	Io gli parlai d' amore:	
	Tu m' hai fatto gran torto:	Addio, bella sora,	
	Tu m' hai tolto mia donna,	Ch' io me ne vò a' Vignone,	20
	Ch' era lo mio conforto,	Ad Avignone in Francia,	
5	La notte con lo die,	Per acquistare onore.	
	Fino all' alba del giorno.	S' io fo colpo di lancia,	
	Giammai non vidi donna	Farò per vostro amore;	
	Di cotanto valore,	S' io moro alla battaglia,	25
	Quanto era la Caterina	Morrò per vostro amore.	
10	Che mi donò il suo amore.	Diran le maritate:	
	—————	Morto è il nostro amadore;	
	La mi tenne la staffa,	Diran le pulzellette:	
	Ed io montai in arcione;	Morto è per nostro amore;	30
	La mi pôrse la lancia,	Diran le vedovelle:	
	Ed io imbracciai la targa;	Vuolsegli fare onore.	
15	La mi pôrse la spada,	Dove il sotterreremo?	
	La mi calzò lo sprone;	'N Santa Maria del Fiore.	
	La mi misse l' elmetto.	Di che lo copriremo?	35
	—————	Di rose e di viole.	

¹ Widter-Wolf, *Volkslieder aus Venetien* (1864), no. 139.

² In his *La poesia popolare italiana* (1873), p. 87, D'Ancona says: "Nella seguente ci sembrano accozzati, e mal saldati insieme, più frammenti di diverse canzoni: l'uno dei quali va a tutto il decimo verso; poi un altro da questo al diciassettesimo, e dal diciassettesimo fino alla fine, l'ultimo. Così, come vedremo accadere assai spesso nella poesia cantata e raccomandata soltanto alla memoria, si sarebbero fusi e confusi insieme pezzi appartenenti a diversi componimenti."

³ Such purely subjective statement is happily passing out of fashion among Italian folklorists. It is the old school as represented by Pitrè (*Studi di poesia popolare*, 1872) and Rubieri (*Storia della poesia popolare italiana*, 1877) which cannot deal with facts without coloring them.

It has long been the favorite play of leisure moments to hunt through odd volumes of German *schneiderhüpfel* or of Italian *ballate* for the as yet undiscovered sources of certain songs of Wilhelm Müller's.¹ There are many still to be added to the already long list of his appropriations.² In one sense this deliberate search for models partakes somewhat of the pettiness inherent in all source-hunting—in so far at least as its underlying motive may at times be nothing more than to fasten the stigma of plagiarism upon a half-forgotten poet. But, viewed from another standpoint, it is important to know as fully as we may the very last detail of Müller's gleanings from the vernacular verse of earlier generations. For he had an almost unparalleled success in melting foreign themes and forms into the liquid simplicity of his own German verses, afterwards to pass them on to Eichendorff and Heine—not even Rückert escaped the contagion of Müller's boyish enthusiasm. Of course, it was Goethe's great confession in the form of lyric and ballad poetry which made up the bible of Romantic rhyming (with its Old Testament of Klopstock and Herder—its New Testament of the Master in Weimar); but, had it not been for Bürger, we should have been spared the *schauerromanze* at which every adolescent contemporary tried his hand. Had it not been for Müller, late Romanticism would have lost that *je ne sais quoi* of transparent sweetness, that certain something of lyric simplicity and directness which so lives in its musical quatrains.

Arnold has shown Müller's pre-eminent ability in adapting Greek prototypes, and commented upon that deftness of touch

¹ Cf. *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XIV (1899), pp. 165, 166, 213, 214; *ibid.*, Vol. XVI (1901), pp. 37, 38; *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. III (1901), pp. 35-91, 431-91.

² I have not been able to ascertain what were the printed anthologies of Italian folk-song which Müller made the basis of the collection that he began in 1818; only part of which was in the manuscript turned over by his heirs to Wolff ten years later. One has but to be familiar with the method of Müller's copying from Meinert (*Alle deutsche Volkslieder*, 1817), Ziska and Schottky (*Oesterreichische Volkslieder*, 1819), and Fauriel (ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΑ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ, 1824) to be sure that it was printed and not oral material which furnished the groundwork of the songs which we know he adapted from the Italian. Further proof of this fact, if such be needed, meets one on almost every page of his *Egeria*. The long ballads and chapbook histories which occur in this book, the difficult and various dialectic verses, the villanelles, chansonettes, and dialogues couched in impeccable literary diction, inform us sufficiently that exacter means than those of oral transmission were everywhere used. When these printed sources of Müller's songs are found—the songs which were later printed in *Egeria*, as well as those which the poet for obvious reasons suppressed—models for certain other poems of Müller's will come to light.

which Goethe and Chamisso rarely equaled;¹ and likewise the poet's demonstrable aptitude for rendering Italian snatches and south-German doggerel is little short of marvelous. In these fields no other Romanticist approached him.²

For the reasons above given, then, it seems worth recording that I recently came upon the source of Müller's *Altitalienisches Volkslied* while reading D'Ancona's familiar collection of Italian popular songs. The translation, as so often in Müller, is extremely close to its original.³ Two verses are omitted (13, 14) as offering perhaps but a tiring repetition, a phrase or two is added (as *amore* = *Lieb' und Leiden*), but the sure and German reworking has all the lilt and color of the model. For the sake of convenient reference Müller's song is here given:

O Tod, du mitleidloser,	Lebwohl, mein holdes Mädchen!
Was tat ich dir zu Leide?	Nach Avignon ich reite,
Du raubtest mir mein Mädchen,	Von Avignon nach Franken, ⁴
Sie, alle meine Freude!	Mir Ehren zu erstreiten;
Bei Nacht und auch bei Tage,	Und wenn ich Lanzen breche,
Beim roten Morgenscheine,	Ist's nur für deine Liebe;
Noch nie hab' ich ein Mädchen	Und wenn ich fall' im Kampfe,
Gesehn von solchem Preise	Fall' ich zu deinem Preise.
Wie meine Katharina,	Dann sprechen alle Frauen:
Sie, alle meine Freude!	Da liegt er, den wir meinen;
Sie hielt mir meinen Bügel,	Dann sprechen alle Mädchen:
Wollt' ich zu Rosse steigen,	Für uns fiel er im Streite;
Sie schnallte mir die Sporen,	Dann sprechen alle Witwen:
Sie tat das Schwert mir rei-	Wie ehren wir die Leiche?
chen,	Wo soll'n wir ihn begraben?
Sie setzte mir den Helm auf.	Im Dom zu Sankt-Mareien.
Ich sprach von Lieb' und Lei-	Womit soll'n wir ihn decken?
den:	Mit Rosen und mit Veilchen.

¹ *Der deutsche Philhellenismus* (1896), *passim*.

² Even the graceful Eichendorff, despite his *Zerbrochenes Ringlein*, had but ill success in his more concrete copying of popular lyric balladry; testimony of which are his *Zigeunerin*, *Soldat 1 und 2*, *Glücksritter*, *Schreckenberger*, *Lied mit Thränen*, *Die Kleine*. A detailed investigation in the popular sources and technique of Eichendorff undertaken by Mr. J. H. Heinzelman, of the University of Chicago, will elucidate this point.

³ Compare with Müller's adaptation Rückert's translation of the Venetian *barcarola* ("La biondina in gondoletta") which I find in *Egeria*, edd. Müller and Wolff (1829), p. 205; or Rückert's Roman *ritornelles* which he had from Müller (*Rom, Römer und Römerinnen* (1820), Vol. I, pp. 52 ff.; *Egeria*, pp. 1, 2). Compare Kopisch's renderings in *Agrumi* (1833), or Blessig's in *Römische Ritornelle* (1860), or even Heyse's in *Italienisches Liederbuch* (1860). However the comparative artistic worth of these different reproductions be adjudged, none of them vies with Müller's in fidelity to its original, in the unexampled ease of transference.

⁴ Müller's original had evidently *E da Vignone*, etc., in line 21.

Now, who will say, after reading this translation from Italian folk-song, that Müller's appraisal of his original is not more justifiable than D'Ancona's? If there be really seams in the fabric of the Venetian *ballata*, they mark but the sewing-together of a harmonious whole. None who studies popular balladry that does not know with what an intuitive sympathy the humble artist often knits together new songs out of scarce-remembered remnants. And Wilhelm Müller was ever content to put full faith in the musicality of his ingenuous model. Like ourselves he had doubtless heard *his canzone sung* from some unseen gondola across the canal, before he met with it in print.¹ He knew it, that is, before it was stripped of its quavering tenor note of intensity, before it was prepared for division into three parts by D'Ancona.

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¹In comparing Müller's original with its translation and noting the greater metrical smoothness of the latter, it must be remembered that in the one the syllables have been fitted to the song, in the other the song to the syllables. In the *ballata*, that is, a line with deficiency of syllables means a sostenuto note in the air, whereas an excess of syllables presumably marks a staccato bar. Cf. Busk, *Folksongs of Italy* (1887), pp. 19 f.

MEDIAEVAL LATIN LYRICS¹

PART I

Some five years ago I was industriously following the traces of German popular poetry whithersoever they led. With the customary guidebooks at hand to direct the journey, I walked the broad road that sweeps almost uninterruptedly from the lyrics of Heine, Eichendorff, and Uhland back through the *volkslieder* and *meisterlieder* of Reformation Germany to the earliest springtime of *minnesang*. But suddenly the trail which in its last stage had been growing somewhat indistinct vanished quite from view; strain my eyes as I might, I could yet find no further evidences of lyric production in Germany as I looked on backward to younger times—to the empire of the Ottos and of Charles the Great. It was as if some traveler had wandered musing to the edge of an emerald oasis, to be rudely awakened from his reverie by beholding the brown silence of the desert. A moment before all the forest-birds had been piping from their leafy nests, but now

Kein Vogel singt auf meinem Pfad,
Ob meinem Haupte rauscht kein Blatt.

Turn back I would not—but how to go ahead? For some while all landmarks seemed to be lacking, and much time was lost in groping here and there in search of tangible beginnings. I soon had read all the theoretical expositions so conveniently listed by Schönbach²—theories that the German lyric had extraneous origins of various sorts, and that if one wished to learn of it before the year 1150 one must go far afield: either to France with Gaston Paris and Jeanroy, to Araby with Courthope,³ or to the

¹ This paper was first presented to the English Club of Princeton University in February, 1907.

² In his *Anfänge des deutschen Minnesangs* (1898).

³ Professor Burdach has announced a study, "Über den Ursprung des mittelalterlichen höfischen Minnesangs, Liebesromans und Frauendienstes," *Sitzungsber. d. k. preussischen Akad.*, Vol. XXVIII (1904), p. 933. He says: "The position of the lyrical court-poet and the conventional concept of love in the courtly literature of the twelfth century are a novelty which, although it does appear in the form of a fixed literary design, may yet not be derived from the earlier poetry of France and Germany, or from older tradition. The possibility is presented that Arabian court-poetry with its erotically colored panegyric in honor of ruling or highly placed women was a fruitful source of influence, together with the oriental romantic love-story."

early mediaeval churches and schools which finally achieved a graceful kind of profane Latin song by imitating the sacred songs or the classics. Most of all I was interested in the contention of Ernst Martin that a popularizing Latin *minnesang* had preceded its German model, but I hesitated to accept this thesis for two reasons: first, I did not believe Martin proved his point from the slender evidence of the Benedictbeuern MS alone—at least his proof could be made to read two ways;¹ secondly, it seemed strange that a Latin vessel should be the *ampulla* which held the baptismal oil of German lyric singing. I then believed, too, with Scherer that the Latin dress of a song effectually hid all traces of its immediate origin, and so would always reason: Why try to win mediaeval Latin lyrics for Germany as a popular and native expression, if we may never pierce the mystery of their birthplace? *Cui bono?*

Thus I came ever back to my starting-point at the edge of the desert. And there might I have remained, but for a certain doggedness of purpose² and for Wilhelm Meyer. I may say that the *Fragmenta burana* and his other writings on mediaeval rhythms have harmed rather than helped on many occasions, for keen and deep as they without exception are, they often lead one off into strange fields of speculation and of subjective reasoning. But this one thing they taught me: From the Latin poems of the Dark Ages and early Middle Ages we may derive a continuous story of lyric writing and singing by Germans in Germany. With Grimm

¹ For a history *ab ovo* of the discussion about the Latin and German songs in this MS, cf. Lundius "Deutsche Vagantenlieder in den Carmina burana," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XXXIX (1907), pp. 330 ff. Lundius gives a convenient bibliography of this hundred years' strife among scholars, begun in 1807 by Docen.

² Because I could not forget Mällenhoff's compelling words when speaking of the *liebesgruss* of Ruodlieb (Mällenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*³, Vol. II, p. 154): "This love-greeting should and must find a place in this collection as the oldest example of German *minne*-poetry. The teaching of Wackernagel and of Wilmanns that such love-songs, nay that the whole German lyric did not appear until the twelfth century does not, it is true, need such confutation (cf. Burdach, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 343; Meyer, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 121; Berger, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XIX, p. 440). It is sufficiently confuted by the nature of man himself, and by the realization that all poetry dwells in the sensation of the moment and is originally but a surrendering to it. There are early examples in German poetry of prayers, complaints, imprecations, and songs of mock and praise; how then should expression of the mightiest and most poetic impulse of all have failed until the year 1150 or 1160? The only new thing at this time is that love-poetry crowds more undisguisedly and luxuriantly to utterance, that it appears in the foreground, and becomes a distinguishing mark of the new era."

therefore I could now believe that the German lyric was an indigenous product.

The process of reasoning which finally determined this new faith was simple. (1) I found no German lyrics in Germany before the year 1150. (2) There must be lyrics of some sort in Germany before this time, or we have to regard one of the richest and the most subjective native expressions of the modern world as calmly pilfered overnight from France or elsewhere.¹ (3) Latin lyrics were current in Germany long before the year 1150. (4) Many of these Latin lyrics are just the sort of thing which was later written in German by Germans.

Now that my creed was once clearly defined, I had no doubt but that I could find confirmation and development of it in books. I knew that there were histories of early mediaeval literature in Europe written from the general view-point as well as from that of specific nationality. These I proceeded to read, but soon discovered that however excellent they might prove for the student of some particular author or monument they failed without exception to achieve grouped pictures of different men in connection with the history of a movement, or of different movements in their relation to the history of a form, such as the evolution of the drama, of the lyric, etc. In other words, I found a series of doctor's dissertations, school-programmes, and monographs—or an encyclopedia—where I had hoped for a story of early mediaeval literature—nowhere a ten Brink or a Scherer.² It was as if Gröber had said: If you find that I have failed to gather a single particle of waste in the Augaeon stables of mediaeval Latin writing, let my head be the forfeit. A wonderful *grundriss zur geschichte* this—like the work of Ebert and of Manitius—but we die while waiting for some poet interpreter of the Latin lyric of the Middle Ages. Of all men yet, perhaps Kögel has come

¹ Unless we believe that the lyric developed from an earlier undifferentiated poetry that was both lyric and epic. A discussion of this theory with complete bibliography pro and con may be found in R. M. Meyer, "Alte deutsche Volksliedchen," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXIX (1885), pp. 122 ff.

² Ferdinand Wolf longed for a history of mediaeval Latin poetry as long ago as 1841; cf. his *Über die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche*, p. 281. The first real attempt to meet this demand is the anonymous study on "Mediaeval Latin Poetry," *Christian Remembrancer*, Vol. LII (1866), pp. 351-92, Vol. LIII, pp. 1-36; an investigation, unfortunately, which is based upon slender material and an insufficient knowledge of the sources.

nearest to interpreting the material rightly, despite the slurs of Winterfeld.

Even though no Daniel had come to judgment in this cause, I hesitated long before writing a single sentence relative to mediaeval Latin poetry. Conscious of the wicked irony which sparkles in the phrase of Forcellini—*totius Latinitatis lexicon*—aware that I had rummaged often enough through the folios of Du Cange to find myself still sole arbiter of a lyric phrase, I contented myself with reading what others had done in the way of casual lightening of the burden imposed by poor texts and garbled diction, and where others were silent as to any one poem or set of poems, I occupied my time in doing what I might to penetrate the underbrush which so often hid the original meaning and form of such poetry. Thus I came to know specific works of Grimm and Du Méril and Wright, Pertz and Giesebrecht and Laistner, Dümmler and Wattenbach and Piper, Martin and Francke and Meyer, Traube and Hauréau and Gröber, Werner and Heyne and Winterfeld—to recite but a few of the scores whose names are not the least on the herald's list of scholarship in the field of mediaeval Latin poetry.

After examining this roster one might well believe that there was small reason for further writing on the subject of the lyric in the early Middle Ages; unless, that is, the new investigator would but stoop to pick up a seedling of knowledge left by some earlier gleaner in the fields of Boaz; unless he would fill at any cost—through some new and unimportant theory perhaps—the lean pages of his argument. Sensitive to the imputation of the last two sentences I have heretofore done nothing further in the way of public discussion than lay down tentative prolegomena such as those contained in a previous study on the origins of *minnesang*. But as time sped on and I found that others were neglecting that upon which I wished to insist—that others, often those whom I greatly respected, were preaching what was to me false doctrine—then I felt no longer bound to hold my peace. The field of the early mediaeval lyric may belong in a loose sense to the carefully trained scientist in classical forms, for it is all Latin. In another, and a truer, sense it may belong to the mediaevalist—for he

alone is cognizant of the multiplicity of tortuous meanings with which for some hundreds of years the mediaeval mind loved to encumber itself. But the mediaeval lyric belongs pre-eminently to the student of modern literary forms, for without a knowledge of it the modernist has an end without a beginning—he has the second term of an unintelligible ratio whose first term is x —he has the solution of some riddle that he has never heard.

It will be little strange if certain views arrived at below comport but ill with the findings of previous judges or juries. Any great expression which continues for centuries, as did the mediaeval Latin lyric, has, like some precious ruby, a hundred different facets. These catch and refract the light in myriad radiating arrows, depending upon the angle from which they are approached. My particular angle as stated at the outset is the one made by the German lyric and the Latin lyric at the point of their tangency. Of the former I can know nothing prior to *minnesang*, unless I treat of the latter. This knowledge is what has driven me to discuss, for purposes of my own, things about which I should otherwise never have come to speak.

POPULAR SONG AND SCHOOL POETRY

In the introductory words to his excellent study of Latin school poetry¹ Francke states that the school was the workshop where all mediaeval Latin poetry was made. For even the lyric, he says, the churchly and vagabond song, cannot be conceived of without the influence of such an environment.² To be sure, he continues, the lyric soon passed outside of the school and attained artistic forms all its own, in the service of and aided by worship and music. But on the other hand didactic and epic poetry were never able successfully to deny their original manner of coming into being.

I have only one quarrel with the foregoing statement—a statement which has often been repeated since—and that is that it

¹ *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Schulpoesie des xii. und xiii. Jahrhunderts* (1879).

² Marold likewise says (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XXIII [1890], pp. 2 f.): "Church song and learned school-poetry form the real soil from which the poetry of the goliards sprang." But he further remarks: "In consequence of their association with the people and the popular minstrels in France and Germany quite a number of communal elements penetrated their songs and with this qualification Schmeller is entirely justified in saying (*Carmina burana*, p. viii): "With good reason we claim a considerable part of mediaeval Latin poetry as our native possession."

excludes, I feel sure, one constant source of much that was best in the mediaeval lyric: *popular song*. I believe, that is, that we *can* conceive of vagabond lyrics aside from the influence of either church or school. Not for a moment do I doubt the all-important influence which these environments exercised upon the profane and popular lyric. But it is one thing to assert that the mediaeval Latin erotic lyric owed much to the church-hymn, to the religious inserts in the service of the church,¹ to antiphon and part-song, to trope, cantio, motet, and sequence; it is one thing to claim for the school tasks and the schoolrooms of the Middle Ages a great influence in shaping the form and themes of profane song; it is quite another thing to assert that we should never have had a rhythmic profane verse except for the pre-existent ecclesiastical and scholastic model. Great as was the impulse which cadence, rhyme, and stanza-structure of the religious lyric and school-poem gave to erotic song, there was another thing which often possessed still stronger attraction for it; and this was the native popular dance-song and lyric ballad written or sung in the vernacular language.

There is no need for us to subscribe entirely to the doctrine that the mediaeval Latin lyric owed its very existence first to the liturgy and afterward to the schools. Tropes, motets, and sequences were doubtless a fertilizing source of much of the later beauty and diction of profane song; schools of grammar and rhetoric did create ten thousand custom-made lyrics and ballads for the consumption of the laity. But when Gautier² and Meyer³ insist upon the creed that these were the only source, they are

¹ I have often wondered when face to face with the awe-inspiring confusion of early mediaeval liturgical MSS, how scholars could attain the simple clarity of their present theory that these inserts were the "bio-germ" of Latin profane singing. Such MSS were often written as prose, and at times none may decide where one verse ends and another begins; every sort of meter and rhythm is represented in them; some MSS were written chiefly to preserve different melodies, and in these we frequently do not know whether the accompanying text comprises all of a song or only a single stanza of it; the texts may be from several different centuries, and of every possible description—deeply religious and scabrous, side by side; it is not always possible to determine the age of a MS, the country in which it was written, the purpose it aimed to fulfil, or the audience to which it was addressed. Unintelligible gaps occur to tempt the reader to emendation: erasures have been made, but we know not why: the same text appears in variant forms and ascribed to many authors. How may we then hold so simple a creed as that laid down in the opening sentence of this note?

² *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge*, Vol. I (1886).

³ *Fragmenta burana* (1901).

setting forth an orthodoxy which requires from its adherents all faith, instead of all reason, for they may never conclusively prove their creed.

When Meyer, for instance, would adduce evidence that the sequence had won over profane poetry he cites the Cambridge songs of late tenth and early eleventh centuries.¹ From this group he reprints in sequence form the story of the "Snow-Child":

Advertite omnes populi ridiculum:

Et audite quomodo Suevum mulier et ipse illam defraudaret:
Constantiae civis Suevulus trans aequora:

Gazam portans navibus domi conjugem lascivam nimis relinquebat;
but he does not refer to the brusque five-syllabled verses of two narrative poems in the same MS: Alfrad and Heriger. The latter of these Jacob Grimm believed to be but the retelling in Latin verses of a German popular song on Archbishop Heriger (*floruit* 913-27). It is the droll tale of the man who ran off with a

¹Traube once complained that Manitius did not understand Wilh. Meyer, but who may understand him at such a time as this? Now the story of the "Snow-Child" was famous among mediaeval entertainers and appears in many different forms (cf., for instance, Galfredus de Vinosalvo (*Poetria nova* vss. 724-28) Leyser, *G. de V. Ars poetica* (1724); Barbazan-Méon, *Publicaux* (1808), Vol. III, p. 215; von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, Vol. II, p. 383; *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, Vol. IV, p. 75; *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vols. XIV, p. 472; XIX, pp. 119 ff., 240; *Deut. Nat. Liter.*, Vol. CCXXI, pp. 217, 235; Ebert, *Überlieferungen zur Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst der Vor- und Mitwelt* (1826), Vol. I, Part 1, p. 80; Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines* (1843), p. 275; *Poésies inédites* (1854), p. 418; *Rheinisches Museum*, Vol. III, p. 331; Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*, No. XXI (3d ed.); *Coventry Mysteries* [ed. Halliwell, Shakspeare Society, Vol. II], pp. 140 f.; Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Vol. I (1890), p. 106; *Fragmenta burana*, p. 174; Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Part 2, pp. 240, 303; Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, p. 40, etc., etc.). Several times, at least, it took the shape of an epigrammatic quatrain:

Dum vir abest, puerum parit ejus adultera conjux
Et reduci narrat, quod nive sit genitus.
Hunc apud Ethiopes vir vendit, et illa requirit;
De nive conceptum sol liquefecit, ait.

or again:

Conjux absente gravidata viro redeunte:
Nixit in ore meo, sum gravis, inquit eo.
Inde dolens multum puerum vir vendit adultum,
Et dixit; Niveum sol liquefecit eum.

Why not therefore say that the epigrammatic quatrain had "won over profane poetry" and make the former a stepping-stone in the evolution of the latter, without which it could not come to be? Posit, that is, an epigram before every lyric, as if the one was the root from which the other flowered. None may ever tell, of course, just what the first form was that so popular a theme took: whether prose or verse. And we must remember that we likewise cannot reason surely in the case of other poems which are represented by a single MS alone. Just because these are handed down to us in a form which shows the influence of clerical workmanship we need not, we must not, imagine that the theme of the poem sprang from the church or lived only in the form which some church-poet or school-poet gave it. We can with safety ascribe to such poets only a part interest in the poem, and not the very fatherhood of it.

piece of liver.¹ More important still, Meyer omits to mention a tender lyric from the same MS which has no more essential connection with the sequence than it has with the moon; the *Verna feminae suspiria*:

Levis exsurgit zephyrus
Et sol procedit tepidus;
Jam terra sinus aperit,
Dulcore suo diffluit.

Ver purpuratum exiit,
Ornatus suos induit;
Aspergit terram floribus,
Ligna silvarum frondibus.

Struunt lustra quadrupedes
Et dulces nidos volucres;
Inter ligna florentia
Sua decantant gaudia.

Quod oculis dum video
Et auribus dum audio,
Heû, pro tantis gaudiis
Tantis inflor suspiriis.

Cum mihi sola sedeo
Et haec revolvens palleo,
Si forte caput sublevo,
Nec audio nec video.

Tu saltim, Veris gratia,
Exaudi et considera
Frondes, flores et gramina;
Nam mea languet anima.²

¹ Cf. Bobertag, *Vierhundert Schwänke des xvi. Jahrhunderts*, p. 258; Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 81; Uhland, *Schriften*, Vol. VIII, p. 617; Kögel, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 264.—Grimm's hypothesis was first stated in his *Lateinische Gedichte des x. und xi. Jhdts.* (1838), p. 343. In this connection Scherer says: "It does not occur to me to assert that German songs were the basis of the other stories and droll tales [the Latin *Modus Liebine*, *Modus Florum*, *Landfrid* and *Cobbo*, *Alfrad*, found in the Cambridge MS]. But still, generally speaking, I do believe that this Latin minstrelsy is as truly a reflection of German *spielmannspoeseie* as that the *Waltharilied* is derived from the German folk-epic." Cf. *Deutsche Studien* (1891)², p. 53.

² Cf. Jaffé, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XIV (1869), p. 492, and Winterfeld, *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV (1905), p. 26: "Soft blows the west wind and the sun draws warmly on; earth bares her breast and dissolves in her own sweetness. Ruddy spring comes forth dight in festal dress; he strews the earth with flowers and the forest trees with foliage. The beasts build their lair and the sweet birds their nest, piping their marriage-joys throughout the green woods. When such sounds and sights of gladness assail my ears and meet my eyes — alas my heart is given to sighing! For all alone I sit, brooding in study gray; if perchance

So sang a heart-sick girl (or some minstrel for her) about the year of grace 1000. There is nothing of the church or school about the song—nor yet aught of the stock phrase of classical imitation or minstrel cant. It is the formula as old as the hills, as wide as the breath of man: Earth rejoices; my love is dead. Winterfeld calls the poem a “jewel of the modern lyric that is just awaking.” I cannot see why it is necessarily modern, or why it is just awaking. It is mediaeval.¹ A girl is sick at heart, or supposed to be so.² Her love, or her baby, or her faith is dead. She says so simply and rhythmically. If she had been Alcuin or Wipo or Ekkehard we should have had a school-poem of it. She was herself. Let us be unsurprised.

I raise my head I may not see or hear. O spirit of spring, hear thou my prayer and dismiss it not; 'spite bloom and flower and verdure—my soul swoons within me!"

If this be not the very minting of popular poetry, what may it be? Not over thirty years ago a Tuscan boy sang as he trimmed a hedge, the first quatrain of a love-ballad so similar to this Latin plaint as to be almost identical:

La foresta di frondi s' abbella
Et lo monte verdeggia, ed il prato.
Al sorriso di Maggio bramato
Apre'l seno odoroso ogn' fior.

Cf. Busk, *Folksongs of Italy* (1887), p. 19.

¹ Symonds, who did not know this song but who did magnificent service for the lyrics of the *Carmina burana*, writes in his *Wine, Women, and Song* (1884, pp. 1 f.): “When we try to picture to ourselves the intellectual and moral state of Europe in the Middle Ages, some fixed and almost stereotyped ideas immediately suggest themselves. We think of the nations immersed in a gross mental lethargy; passively witnessing the gradual extinction of arts and sciences which Greece and Rome had splendidly inaugurated; allowing libraries and monuments of antique civilization to crumble into dust; while they trembled under a dull and brooding terror of coming judgment, shrank from natural enjoyment as from deadly sin, or yielded themselves with brutal eagerness to the satisfaction of vulgar appetites.

“It is therefore with a sense of surprise, with something like a shock to preconceived opinions, that we first become acquainted with the Latin Songs of the Wandering Students. This literature makes it manifest that the ineradicable appetites and natural instincts of men and women were no less vigorous in fact, though less articulate and self-assertive, than they had been in the age of Greece and Rome, and than they afterwards displayed themselves in what is known as the Renaissance.” A similar statement is made by Bartoli in the opening pages of his *I precursori del rinascimento* (1876).

² I am mindful of the folly of guessing the sex of the author of a mediaeval poem—a classical instance of which attaches to the *O admirabile Veneris idolum*, which was variously supposed to be expression of artistic fervor on the part of an old Roman who had dug up a statue; the prayer of a man to a saint; and the plea of a girl to a boy—until finally determined to be the simple παιδικόν of a Veronese schoolmaster. And so we may not know that a woman wrote this song, although the lines above quoted seem subtly feminine in imagery, just as the oft-cited verses on homesickness by Otfrid of Weissenburg (ca. 830) have the undeniably masculine ring (cf. *Ev.*, i, 18, vss. 25 ff.): Vuolage éllenti! hárto bistu herti/etc.—“O outland, thou art hard to bear, thou art beyond words unendurable, that may I never dissemble. With woe are they encompassed who give up their home; I have experienced the weight of it, no joy have I had of thee; in thee have I found no other weal than sadness of spirit, a troubled heart and manifold pain.”

When Gautier claims that the "poems attributed to Walter Mapes¹ and his sort" were all derived from churchly tropes, he contents himself with citing two songs: one to the courtesan Dulcia, the other of more "temperament and brutal passion":

Nutritur ignis osculo
Et leni tactu virginis;
In suo lucet oculo
Lux luminis.
Non est in toto saeculo
Plus numinis.

Now I have taken Gautier at his word and sought where he directs: in the collection of Flacius,² in the *Carmina burana*, and in the songs ascribed to Mapes. I am sore puzzled to find how "*ces poésies sortent de nos tropes*." Some of them do evidently, because their form, context, content, and diction show such indirect origin at least, but then just as surely some of them do not. In other words certain songs are of scholastic and clerical workmanship, certain are popular. I shall treat of this at length in a later chapter of this study where I find some poems which contain every hint of being *volkslieder*, or of being imitated from popular songs.

To choose for the present but one of many, I turn to a song recently discovered by Vattasso—it is of the twelfth century and entitled *planctus monialis*:

Plangit nonna fletibus
Inenarrabilibus,
Condolens gemitibus,
Dicens consocialibus:
Heu misella!
Nichil est deterius tali vita,
Cum enim sim petulans et lasciva.

Sono tintinnabulum,
Repeto psalterium,
Gratum linquo somnium
Cum dormire cuperem,

¹ Were goliard songs ascribed during the thirteenth century to Walter Mapes because of confusion with that other Walter, also archdeacon of Oxford, from whom Geoffrey of Monmouth (1135-50) had his *Historia regum Britanniae*?

² I. e., Flacius Illyricus, *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto ecclesiae statu poemata* (1556; reprinted 1754).

Heu misella!
Pernoctando vigilo
Cum non vellem.
Juvenem amplecterer quam libenter.¹

Amazingly rough in a way, and scarce worthy of printing but for one conspicuous fact. It is the old story of the Nun's Complaint found frequently in French *romance* and German *lied* from the thirteenth century on. It is imitated from some such popular poem without any doubt.

For, near as we should imagine such a theme to be to the poets of the church, the monastery, and the school, when we come to study the matter we find their treatment to be a very different sort. The twelfth-century songs of Hildebert² and Hilary³ to nuns and about them are smooth *vers d'occasion*. Marbod⁴ consoles a maiden dedicated to the cloister by picturing the happiness of a marriage with Christ; again, he encourages a girl with pedantic seriousness to adhere to her vows. From the same time we have the Love-Council of Remiremont;⁵ we have the poetic letter of a monk to nuns,⁶ written in jocose and fluent manner, warning them not to occupy themselves overmuch with the verses of Ovid as these are no prescribed part of the routine. In the thirteenth century we read the prayer of a nun to the Virgin⁷ that she may be freed from the temptations of earthly passion—also the story of how the nun, forgetful of her vows, tried to seduce the clerk.⁸ And as early as the tenth or eleventh century we have the fragment of a macaronic song (half Latin, half German) in which a clerk pleads with a nun to listen kindly to his wooing, for springtime is at hand and the earth is green anew.⁹

¹ Cf. *Studi medievali*, Vol. I (1904), p. 124; MS Vatican 3,251; de Nohac, *Labibliot hèque de Fulvio Orsini* (1887), p. 195, n. 2; Novati considers the song *quasi certamente d'origine straniera*, although he gives no reason for this belief.

² Cf. Hauréau, *Les mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin* (1882).

³ Cf. Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarii versus et ludi* (1838).

⁴ Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. CLXXI, p. 1717; Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, Vol. II (1872), p. 240.

⁵ Cf. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vols. VII, p. 160; XXI, p. 65; Langlois, *Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose* (1891), p. 6.

⁶ Cf. *Sitzungsberichte der bayr. Akademie* (1873), pp. 695 ff.

⁷ Cf. *Wiener Studien*, Vol. VI, p. 291.

⁸ *Anzeiger f. Kunde d. deut. Vorzeit*, Vol. XXV (1878), col. 319; *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.*, Vol. XXXVI (1861), p. 163; Hagen *Carmin media aevi* (1877), p. 206; *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX (1880), Pt. 2, p. 249.

⁹ "Cambridge Liedes," No. 32, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XIV (1869).

Such is the writing of mediaeval clerks and schoolmen when they deal with the nun either in fact or in fancy; graceful *minnelieder* like those of Hilarius to Bona and Superba, exhortations to chastity like Marbod's stiff attempts in leonine hexameters, or allusive (not to say suggestive) efforts to bring about a rendezvous with some plump novice. Nothing intense, no outcry of suffering, and a manner far removed from the popular. Even where as in the tenth-century song there is evident approach to the popular treatment for a moment, the whole ends stiffly with a moralizing touch. Let us dwell in passing with this poem. Grant me love, pleads the clerk, for the birds are singing in the woods. What care I for nightingale? demands the nun. I am the maid of Christ and have sworn to serve him singly. The lover returns to his task with unremitting urgency: But if you will only grant me love I will bestow upon you earthly honors and rewards. Thus the maiden: Such rewards pass away as the clouds are swept from the sky—the kingdom of God endures eternally.

So from tenth century to fifteenth did the poetasters of bench and cell deal with the nun. Not so popular minstrelsy:

La nonain se gaimentoit,
 Regardait aval un preit,
 Vit lou moinne qui venoit,
 Qui avoit son frot esteit.
 Longue demoree
 Faites, frans moignes loialz.
 Se plus suis nonette,
 Ains ke soit li vespres
 Je morai des jolis malz.

Thus a romance of the fourteenth century, and one of the thirteenth runs as follows:

Ki nonne me fist, Jesus lou maldie.
 Je di trop envis vespres ne conplies:
 J'amaixe trop muels moneir bone vie
 Ke fust deduissans et amerousete.
 Je sent les douls mals leis ma senturete.
 Malois soit de deu ki me fist nonnete.¹

¹ MS 389, City Library of Berne; cf. Wackernagel, *Altfranzösische Lieder und Leiche* (1846), p. 51; Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen* (1870), p. 28; MS franc. 20,050, Royal Library of Paris; Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France* (1904)², p. 190.

But it is in the German *volkslieder* that we come closest to the spirit and even the phraseology of the *planctus monialis*.

Gott geb ihm ein verdorben jar
Der mich zu einer nunnan macht!
Soll ich ein nunn geworden
Dann wider meinen willen,
So will ich auch einem knaben jung
Seinen kummer stillen.

And even more popular than this song was perhaps:

Ich solt ein nonne werden,
Ich hatt kein lust darzu,
Ich ess nicht gerne gerste,¹
Wach auch nicht gerne fru.²

A comparison of these and other *nonnenlieder* with the Vattasso song will convince one that the latter owes its spirit to the vernacular ballads and ditties having to do with the cloister, even though our earliest known example of such be from the thirteenth century. Popular tradition was as tenacious as school tradition at least; we find formulae in both continuing with identical verbiage for centuries. The fact that we have no vernacular popular song regarding the nun before the thirteenth century does not mean there was no such—in fact we have indubitable evidence that there was, just from the lines of this Vattasso song itself. The Latin dance ballad of the year 1019 discovered by Schröder was previously known to Du Méril from the MS of an English translation of Grosseteste's *Manuel de pechie* (about 1400). And now we are able to add another popular Latin ballad of the same sort from the eleventh or twelfth century, in this *planctus monialis*.

More proof—and there is plenty—that there was a popular Latin poetry throughout the Middle Ages need not be adduced at just this point, as it would transcend the limits of the present purpose.³ Suffice it to call attention to the study of Winterfeld's

¹ Cf. verse 44 of the Vattasso song: *e succis farinulae et caseo*.

² Uhland, *Volkslieder*, Nos. 328, 329.

³ Just a word as to the famous *liebesgruss* from *Ruodlieb* which R. M. Meyer (I believe rightly) cited as a remnant of popular lyricity. It may not, to be sure, be a "relic of ancient communal poetry" simply because analogous love-messages are discoverable in Indian poetry—so far Meyer's critics may be justified in doubting. But no more need the *liebesgruss* in *Ruodlieb* be of learned origin, just because parallel passages can be found in the Bible, in classical Latin poets, and in mechanical hexameters of Carolingian versifiers

with which the next chapter deals, to a previous article of mine on the origins of *minnesang*, and to the further songs later on which I shall cite for one reason or another. I am content to establish merely the fact that there were throughout the Middle Ages two sorts of Latin lyric: one which was of the church and the school, no matter how far it finally developed from the form of its original birthplace; the other of the people and laity, whether written by them or by a homely minstrel for them.

We are now ready to review various doctrines which are maintained regarding the mediaeval song and singers, to determine if we may how far they help or hinder us in the enunciation of the fact that before the troubadours and the minnesingers there were Latin songs which were either themselves popular and widely disseminated, or which are *rifacimenti* of vernacular popular songs spread broadcast among the people. And first we may take up the theory of the mime.

THE MEDIAEVAL MIME

More than thirty years ago Scherer wrote his important statement of the rôle which the Italian mime played in the development of early German literature.¹ Little by little the conviction

(cf. Dümmler, *Mitteilungen der Züricher antiquarischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XII, p. 228; Liersch, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 154 ff.). The author of the first European novel need not have got his love-message from any of the three places above mentioned, nor even necessarily from a fourth place suggested by Kögel (*Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 139): viz., from a wandering student, nor from a fifth place, from the French love-greeting which Paul Meyer believed to have no connection with popular verses (*Le salut d'amour dans les littératures provençale et française*, 1867, p. 4; cf. also Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours*, 1883, p. 149). It may be the Latin adaptation of a German *volkslied*-stanza, or it may be the original labor of its writer. But whatever its immediate source, one thing it must be: the congener of scores of other popular songs such as we have documented a-plenty from later centuries (cf. Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*, Vol. II³, p. 152); it is the very stamp of popular love-poetry even if it were first born at the moment of its writing. Let us acknowledge, if you will, that such verses as the following are of clerical workmanship:

Multiplici Christus reddat tibi munera mitis,
In me quot bonitas contulit ecce tua.
Gramina quot tellus habeat, vel litus harenas,
Tot, miserante deo, David, habeto vale;

but the *Rudlieb* stanza has a different smack:

Die sodes illi nunc de me corde fideli
Tantundem liebes, veniat quantum modo loubes,
Et volucrum wunna tot sint, tot die sibi minna;
Graminis et florum quantum sit, dic et honorum;

as has the popularizing love message in the *Carmina burana*, no. 82, despite its classical allusions:

Quot sunt flores in Hyblae vallibus,
Quot redundat Dodona frondibus,
Et quot pisces natant aequoribus,
Tot abundat amor doloribus.

¹*Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung im xi. und xii. Jahrhundert* (1875), pp. 11 ff. Cf. also Grysar, "Der römische Mimus," *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.*, Vol. XII, pp. 331 ff.

grew that after the fall of the Roman Empire the mimes spread northward throughout Germany bringing a new element to the life and literature which they found there. And so the picture took shape which represents the repertory and the art of the German minstrel in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the resultant of two forces: the lofty epic idealism of the Teutonic *scop*; the vulgar but contagious realism of the Italian *joculator*.¹

There is something in this theory of continuance and new birth through the mingling of two elements, either of which might soon have proved sterile but for fructification from a new seed, which satisfies the imagination, so that we may not wonder at the quick adoption of it.² Germanists are now possessed of a thread which will lead them safely through the dim chambers of mediaeval centuries, as they seek for an explanation of hardly understood literary phenomena. Many of them cling therefore tenaciously to this tenuous cord, often in secret dread of its breaking, but openly smiling whenever the classicist is heard to demand that the Roman mime be dead along with the ashes of the empire which had cherished him. For does not your Germanist remember that this very empire led a shadowy but real existence into the nineteenth century? And why then, he asks, should these funmakers have yielded up their spirit just the moment that the fall of Rome opened to them new fields of effort.

Up to this point, then, those whose special study was mediaeval poetry were willing, oftentimes anxious, to accept the services of the exiled Italian mime in the fetching of certain lyric and dramatic forms from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Even those who believed there were many other agencies of transmission yet included the mime. Peddler and beggar, scribe and journeyman

¹ Cf. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (1903), Vol. I, pp. 23 ff., and the bibliography there cited, which omits strangely enough any reference to Hertz's *Spielmannsbuch*² (1900), with its incomparable notes (pp. 315 ff.).

² In his review of Anderson's *Anglo-Saxon Scop* (*Anzeiger f. d. Alt.*, Vol. XXXI [1907], p. 114) Heusler propounds three matters which must be thoroughly investigated before we can gain an adequate picture of this early renaissance of minstrelsy: (1) How the old-style poetizing and harp-playing German vassal is to be separated from the *joculator*, the inheritor of southern culture; (2) How a historical poetry dealing with contemporary events affected heroic song; (3) In how far the poet-singer lived by his art, so that we can suppose there existed a professional practice of poetry in any strict sense. Not till these problems are at least partially settled should we speak too glibly of co-operation between *scop* and mime.

'prentice, vagrom monk and missionary, scop and soldier, tourist and student, artisan and hireling—in this freemasonry of travel the mime should surely hold high rank as propagator of entertainment, but should he be the only one who spun edifying yarns, who caroled snatches of song learned in many lands? A sorry sort of Canterbury pilgrimage, many thought, in which the mime was solitary pilgrim. And yet this is the very point of recent insistence.

The long-awaited book of Reich is come,¹ and with it a mime who like Alexander Selkirk is sole monarch of all he surveys. The concluding part of the work is yet unpublished, but there is sufficient in the first volume to occupy our attention. The mime, it seems, like the long-unsuspected bacillus, is everywhere. In places untrodden of Caliban and Ariel there lurks the mime—the whole spiritual world has become, as it were, mime and non-mime; to our convenient totalities of day and night, land and sea, time and eternity, a new unit has been added. Reich has had till now but time to hunt through twenty-eight or thirty centuries, and yet he has discovered that anything dramatic in the world's literature which is not to be termed "classic" or "classic imitation" is based upon the mime. The process of this argument is simple, but could such a dictum be pronounced except in a time when literary criticism is unduly influenced by purely speculative reasoning? Verily does it seem as if in the twentieth century Mercury and Philology have been remarried and every previous edict of divorce between them annulled.

If the words of the foregoing paragraph be true, why not pass Reich's book lightly by? Because, first, he has in his discussion of the Middle Ages really found an explanation for a definite expression in literature which is otherwise puzzling; second, he has succeeded in converting to his doctrine of an ever-present mime no less a person than Winterfeld.²

¹ *Der Mimus: Ein Litterarentwicklungsgeschichtlicher Versuch*, Vol. I (1903).

² Cf. "Hrotsvits literarische Stellung," *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV (1905), pp. 48 ff.

I imagine that when the history of mediaeval philology is finally written the name of the late Paul von Winterfeld will shine more brightly than that of many another scholar to whom a longer life was granted and whose writings largely outnumber his. No other investigator in this field combined in so unusual a degree a severe training and a scholarly purpose with surety of instinct, brilliance of imagination, and rare poetic gifts. It would seem as if

This last is, I confess, a blow, the more so, because Winterfeld in the natural ardor of his new conversion does not stop midway in his claims, but says all that is best in the Latin artistic poetry of the Middle Ages, the best part of Notker and Roswitha, comes straight from the mime. He then proceeds to assert that the mime cultivated practically every form of literary expression known to mediaeval times and that he gave to each the impetus that brought it to its zenith.

It is at first difficult to find the fallacy which underlies much of Winterfeld's argument, but after some study two faults become clear. First, that the word "mime" is often used not only in a wide but in an evasive sense—discussion of this will be taken up in a following paragraph. Second, we discover that Winterfeld without reason and without proof claims for this mime things that quite evidently belong to someone else. Certain expressions which Winterfeld assigns to the mime were undoubtedly cultivated by him *sicut fabulae testantur et scurrarum cumplices*: notably the short tale, the farce, the sequence devoted to profane matters, satirical poetry, the novel in hexameters, the dramatic skit, and some of the popular legends. There is small necessity for denying the minstrel his fair share in the purely popular grist of novelistic and narrative literature which preceded the twelfth century.¹ At the same time it takes hardihood to deliver Notker and Roswitha so completely into his hands, to say nothing of the goodly company of story-tellers who must have found amateurish amusement in literature without using it as a professional means of livelihood.²

his death, coming so shortly before that of the better-known mediaevalist, Ludwig Traube, so soon after that of Ernst Dümmler, wrought irreparable injury to the cause of mediaeval Latin in the university world, where it was but beginning to be ardently espoused. One can but cherish the fond hope that these three did not depart before they had sown the seed of their strength in the hearts of a younger generation of students come to carry on their work.

¹In addition to Winterfeld's article above cited, cf. *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, pp. 429-33.

²It is perhaps an unavoidable tendency, when chronicling the story of literature of any age, to insist overmuch on the ascendancy of certain groups of men as the makers of certain sorts of prose and poetry. We consequently are apt to visualize any particular generation of poetizing as the result of the efforts of some narrow guild or school. Thus a kind of German epic poetry we assign entirely during the older period to the *scop* or *vorsänger*; later to the *spielmann*. A kind of Latin lyric in mediaeval Europe goes first to the *minnus* and later to the goliard. Love-songs are given initially to the minnesinger, afterward to

Certain expressions, however, which belonged to another than the mime but which Winterfeld in his generosity surrenders to him are the hymn of victory, the ecclesiastical ballad, and the Carolingian eclogue. Of course some one poet or minstrel is to be presumed for any poem, and if one wishes he may dub such poet "mime." But there is in our minds an inferential connection of this word with *mimus*, meaning an Italian vaudeville performer, who, after the fall of the western empire, spread northward across Europe. And to assert that such a person necessarily composed the *Ballad of Fontenoy*, the *Victory of Pippin over the Avari*, the *Descent of Christ into Hell*, *Terence and the Delusor*, etc.—this is but to speak from the pulpit.¹ Not a shred of evidence is adduced that would convict this mime of the authorship of such matters, if he were haled before the court.

Let us examine the pretensions of the mime to the authorship of the eclogue, and choose this particular case not because it is the weakest one that Winterfeld sets forth, but rather, if my feeling is right, the strongest. In case we can return the verdict "not proven" on this count, I think the others too may stand dismissed.

The dramatic dialogue known as the eclogue was from the beginning, Winterfeld says, the child of the mime. The eclogues of the Syracusan poet Sophron were popular in tone and were performed before an audience. But, although modeled upon these, the eclogues of Theocritus and Herodas were highly artistic and without popular appeal; they were *kunstpoesie*. Now these

the meistersinger. Such a delivering of all the known material of a time to set classes or professions of people is only unwise in that it blinds our eyes to the fact that the poetry of any age is too complex in the weaving to be ascribed to a single order. Forgetful of this truth, we do not sufficiently try to establish distinctions between different sorts of poetry, since we think of them at any one moment as a single unit. And we thus lose often the thread of continuity which might otherwise lead us from one century to another.

A good illustration of such procedure, I believe, confronts us in our present study of mime and goliard. We speak of a certain large body of Latin poetry as if it were the sole product of their effort. This poetry thus becomes at once an artistic, artificial, almost professional matter, and we find difficulty in convincing ourselves, except after the most patient examination, that some of it at least was popular, sincere in feeling, with the stamp of the people's mint upon it. If there be the latter sort, as I am claiming, then this it was that foreran documented German *minnesang*, and not that other sort of polished *vers d'occasion* so commonly thought of when the mediaeval Latin lyric is mentioned.

¹I must reserve for another occasion further study of "the Merovingian mime." The materials already gathered on this subject are too bulky to permit of presentation here.

were imitated in learned fashion by Virgil, Calpurnius, and Nemesianus, and we thus gain a new sort of eclogue—one that is not acted, but intended for reading only, *buchpoesie*. This, in a nutshell, is the story of such dialogue poetry before the fall of Rome.

In the eighth and ninth centuries we find six dialogue poems which with some violence may be grouped together as eclogues: the writings of Naso Modoinus, the debate between summer and winter, sometimes ascribed to Alcuin, the bucolic verses of Theodul (or Gottschalk),¹ the lively tilt between Terence and a *delusor*, Radbert's *Life of Adalhard*, and the *Life of Hadumod* by Agius. Now four of these eclogues are evidently but a learned imitation of the bookish poetry of Virgil, Nemesianus, etc., adapted to the local needs of the writers of the Carolingian renaissance; but two of them—the *Conflictus veris et hiemis* and the *delusor* are mimetic. The former of these two is naught but a Latinized version of the popular Germanic struggle between the seasons, which was often presented in costume; the latter Winterfeld assumes was acted and believes Terence to be but the literary representative of the mime—cursed and scolded and threatened by the *delusor* until he ran off the scene in fright. On the basis of this interpretation he assigns the poem to the repertory of the vaudeville performer.

Why should we believe Terence to be but the symbol of just that which he and his comedies were most opposed to, viz., the lascivious Roman vaudeville? I know of no possible ground for such an assumption. There is not a scrap of inward or outward evidence in connection with this poem, that it is anything other than just what it seems to be: a scoring of the poet Terence on the charge of looseness by some *delusor*. I believe Terence, in other words, to be Terence; but gladly should I learn who or what is meant by *delusor*; and on this point Winterfeld utters not a syllable.

To sum up: Winterfeld begins his discussion of the eclogue with a Syracusan poet who wrote popular eclogues about B. C. 440. He then deals with Sophron's imitators. When the Ger-

¹ If a clever surmise of Winterfeld's be right: θεός = Gott; δούλος = Schalk.

man empires are built upon the ruins of Rome, he says that the eclogue is dead but that the mime is alive. And then, because he finds a school-rendering into Latin of a German *streitgedicht* and a scene in which Terence is belabored by one whose motives we do not understand, he demands that a line of continuity be established for popular vaudeville from Sophron to the end of the ninth century. Should we not rather believe that the "mime", had nothing to do with the matter of the Carolingian eclogue, but that the scholars of this time made variations on the *ecloga* of Virgil, because they held with the palace academy that he was the greatest poet of antiquity?¹

In reading the "arguments" of Reich and Winterfeld we are often confused by the way in which they use the adjective *mimetic* and the noun *mime*. Great care must be taken not to regard these terms as interchangeable. Mimetic material may at any time become actually a mime—just as dramatic material may at any time become a drama. But while such a *streitgedicht* as that between summer and winter might conceivably become a thoroughgoing mime by the infusion of a certain known element or two, it never did become mime so far as we know, any more than it becomes drama. And while there is a certain knock-down humor in the *delusor* poem which allows us to dream with Winterfeld that the figure of Terence did wear the comic mask of the vulgar actor and did set his audience into spasms of uncontrollable laughter with his caperings and his mouthings, there is not a particle of evidence that the poem was acted at all. And as to Sophron: why rattle his dry bones to attract attention to a mediaeval poem?

Who and what is this mime, this lord of hosts that confronts us in a hundred forms? Well, *mimus*, it seems, is both a mimetic performance and a mimetic performer—both vaudeville skit and vaudeville artist. Do we not now begin to understand how so wide a sphere of influence may be claimed for mime? And in the Middle Ages the term was measurably widened until it

¹The Carolingian poets assiduously imitated every classical model that they knew. Why then should we seek a special explanation if we find that they copied the eclogue form? Or why should we call a popular *streitgedicht* an eclogue merely because they are both dialogue poems?

betokens any stunt (the word is used advisedly) or turn that can wheedle a laugh, a sigh, or a tear from the audience; until it means any function of the mimetic performer, no matter how meretricious or venal, just so that it entertains. Mime came thus to be synonymous with the modern vernacular "show," as employed by careless youth to denominate anything from a church sociable to a football game. In neither case are we to debate what correct usage prescribes concerning the two words; we are merely to read mediaeval records pertaining to the word *mimus*. And the *mimi* of these records when referring to persons can often not be translated by a less wide term than "artists" or "players," for they comprised musicians of every kind, trapeze-performers, acrobats, singers, slackrope walkers, tumblers, knife-throwers, contortionists, clowns, merry-andrews, pantomimists, dancers, jugglers, sleight-of-hand workers, harlequins, buffoons, bear-leaders, monologists—until because of the narrow view-point of the ascetic churchman the word finally came to connote confidence men, pickpockets, shell-workers, second-story men, outcasts, guzzlers, lechers, *et cetera ad infinitum*.¹

The crux is solved. The mime it was that influenced all the popular themes of the Middle Ages, that is at work today as "the basis of all themes in the world's literature not designedly classic;" for we have found by studying the documents that mime means almost anything that we have no other name for. It is the old story over again. A word is evolved by someone and restricted to a certain specified meaning; then following generations come to widen the term's horizon to suit their own sweet whim. In discovering their sort of "mime" Reich and Winterfeld have but displaced other words, one of which is the adjective "romantic."

Herzog says without doubt too peremptorily: "The *mimi* and *joculatores* of the dark occidental Middle Ages had nothing to do with the ancient mime."² For they comprised, so far as we

¹ Cf. Glock "Über den Zusammenhang des römischen Mimus und einer dramatischen Tätigkeit mittelalterlicher Spielleute mit dem neueren komischen Drama," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Literaturgesch.* (1905), pp. 25-45, 172-93. For the various Latin synonyms of *mimus* cf. Gautier, *Les épopées françaises*² (1892), Vol. II, pp. 10 ff.

² *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* (1904), No. 34.

may ever know, much the same sort of profession. But even if they did the very same sort of thing, they did it so differently that comparison is unwise. By this I mean that the entertainers in mediaeval Europe may conceivably be the very descendants of the entertainers ages before in Italy; but we shall certainly learn what they meant to the life of their time better by studying them in cross-section than longitudinally.

There remains a most important matter in connection with the Latin mime or minstrel, viz., his influence on the musicality of lyrical ballads previous to the twelfth century. I reserve statement of this for a later paragraph.¹

THE GOLIARDS

As early as the tenth century perhaps, but quite certainly as early as the eleventh,² we know that the goliards were composing and singing Latin verses. I do not think it necessary to believe with Giesebrecht that the goliard movement originated in the schools of France during the twelfth century,³ but it may be well to imagine that it was there and at that time that the movement gained its greatest impetus and its widest currency.

The young universities of Bologna and Salerno, founded partly on the private academies of the older grammarians and teachers of rhetoric, partly on the cloisters and canonical schools,⁴ attracted during the twelfth century large numbers of students (clerks) who would learn jurisprudence and medicine. But at the same period clerks from every country of Europe poured into northern France to learn dialectic and theology, grammar and rhetoric, at the

¹ Cf. *infra*, pp. 50 f.

² It seems unnecessary to go into the question of the councils which make for the earlier of these two dates; cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61; Allen "Origins of German Minnesang," *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 18; Traube's review of Manitius' *Amarcius* (*Anzeiger f. deutsches Altertum*, Vol. XV [1889], p. 200), from which I quote: "When this *jocator* of the eleventh century (ca. 1050) begins his performance with a song about Goliath (*Amarcius*, 439: *straverit ut grandem pastoris funda Goliath*), we discover here material which has been really treated by others of his kind. This material either came later to determine the title 'goliardus' or this name was already in vogue and caused the minstrels to set up a connection of it with Goliath." See especially, however, Manly, "Familia Goliae," *Modern Philology*, Vol. V, pp. 201 ff.

³ "Die Vaganten oder Goliarden und ihre Lieder," *Allgemeine Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur* (1853), pp. 10 ff.

⁴ Cf. Giesebrecht, *De litterarum studiis apud Italos primis medii aevi saeculis* (1845), pp. 15 f.

French schools, which ranked little, if any, lower than the Italian institutions. Paris was considered the fount of worldly wisdom, and we are told that Athens and Alexandria in their palmy days contained not so many searchers after knowledge. Rheims and Orleans shared in lesser measure the reputation of their greater sister.

Now this was just the sort of environment which we imagine most favorable for the birth and spread of a certain fashion of goliardic poetry.¹ Even were we prone to doubt that such a soil produced hundreds and thousands of school-poems, the opposite would be shown true by a mere examination of the records. Peter of Blois, Stephan and Bertier of Orleans, and Walter of Chatillon² were known for their Latin lyrics of the lighter manner. Fulbert of Chartres, Marbod of Rennes, and Arnulf of Lisieux declaimed of spring and wine, although generally in metrical lines; Abelard,³ Bernard of Clairvaux,⁴ and Hildebert of Tours wrote *vers d'occasion*, emulating the graceful diction of Ovid and Horace.⁵ And a presumable peer of any spark in wit and elegance was young Hilary.

Scarcely were such poems born before they fled across the Channel with the returning English students to become the marvel

¹ For the picture of a like materialistic age when satirical and erotic songs may well have existed among the lower *clerici* read of the tenth century in Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought* (1884), pp. 79 ff.

² Cf. the poem on scholastic studies in Wright, *Anecdota Literaria* (1844); also Müldener, *Die zehn Gedichte Walthers von Lille* (1859), and Hubatsch, *Die lateinischen Vagantennieder des Mittelalters* (1870), p. 8:

Inter quos sunt quatuor rythmice dictantium,
Qui super hoc retinent sibi privilegium:
Stephanus flos scilicet Aurelianensium
Et Petrus qui dicitur de castro Blecensium.
Istis non immerito Berterus adjicitur,
Sed nec inter alios apte praetermittitur
Ille quem Castellio latere non patitur,
In cujus opusculo Alexander legitur.

Cf. also the famous phrase of Walther: *perstrepuit modulis Gallia tota meis*; Peiper, *Walther von Châtillon* (1869); Bellanger, *De magistro Gualthero ab Insulis* (1877); Thurot, *Revue critique* (1870) I, p. 123.

³ "Quorum etiam carminum pleraque adhuc in multis, sicut et ipse nosti frequentantur et decantantur regionibus, ab his maxime quos vita similis oblectat." "Amatorio metro vel rhythmo composita reliquisti carmina quae, prae nimia suavitatem tam dictaminis quam cantus saepius frequentata, tuum in ore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant." The first of these statements is Abelard's own, the other that of Heloise; *Abaelardi Opera*, pp. 12, 46, and DuMéril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (1847), p. 422.

⁴ Cf. the long statement in Berengarii, *Apologeticum Abaelardi*, regarding the *cantiunculas mimicas et urbanos modulos* of young Bernard. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. CLXXVIII; Hauréau, *Des poèmes latins attribués à S. Bernard* (1890), pp. iii f.

⁵ Cf. Hauréau, *Mélanges poétiques d'Hiltebert de Lavardin* (1882).

of those who had not had the means or the initiative to go abroad to learn. And these songs were copied, and imitated, and put forth often in new guise, as their presence in many English manuscripts bears witness. Soon came the great popular movements in England during the end of the twelfth and the earlier half of the thirteenth centuries to give added impetus to the dissemination of such poems, and the result was manifest in hundreds of congeners remarkable for pungency of satire and sprightliness of composition.¹ Italy also shared in the writing of similar verses, although these poems are of a more ascetic sort, and have to do with civil and churchly matters.² And many indications point clearly to the share that Germany took in the movement.³

It is generally believed that vagrant clerks and dissolute students composed a great part of the body of mediaeval Latin lyric from the eleventh or twelfth century on.⁴ And perhaps

¹ Cf. Wright, *Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* (1841), p. v.

² Cf. Straccali, *I Goliardi ovvero i clerici vagantes delle Università medievali* (1880) pp. 59 ff.; Ronca, *Cultura medioevale e poesia latina d'Italia nei secoli xi e xii* (1892), Vol. I, p. 255; *Studi medievali*, Vol. I (1904), p. 119.

³ It will suffice to quote one of the various poems which deal with study in France—this time evidently sung by a Swabian lad on his way to Paris:

Hospita in Gallia
Nunc me vocant studia.
Vadam ergo;
Flens a tergo
Socios relinquo.
Plangite discipuli,
Lugubris discidium
Tempore propinquo.

Vale, dulcis patria,
Suavis Suevorum Suevia!
Salve, dilecta Francia,
Philosophorum curia!
Suscipe discipulum
In te peregrinum,
Quem post dierum circulum
Remittes Socratinum.

Cf. *Zeitsch. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. V, p. 296; Laistner, *Goliard: Studentenlieder des Mittelalters* (1879), p. 53; Meyer, *Fragmenta burana* (1901), p. 180.

It is my belief that the supreme evidence of Germany's part in the Franco-Latin lyrical renaissance of the twelfth century is found in the Cologne archpoet's unforgettable productions. But I doubt if the tangled skeins of the *archipoeta-Goliard* controversy will ever be unraveled before a new Revelation comes. Those who care to become entangled in the discussion regarding the paternity of the great mediaeval poet may consult with profit Wright, *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841; J. Grimm, *Gedichte des Mittelalters auf König Frederick I.*, Berlin 1843; Wackernagel, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. V (1845), pp. 293 ff.; Giesebrecht, *Allg. Monatsschrift f. Wiss. u. Lit.*, Braunschweig, 1853; Bädinger "Über einige Reste der Vagantenpoesie in Österreich," *Wiener Sitzungsberichte* (1854); Delisle, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, Vols. XXIX (1868), pp. 596 ff.; XXXI, pp. 303 ff.; *Annuaire bulletin d. l. Société de l'Histoire de France* (1869), pp. 139 ff.; Hubatsch, *Lateinische Vagantenlieder*, Görlitz, 1870; Hauréau "Un manuscrit de la Reine Christine," *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. 2 (1880); G. Paris, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* (1889), pp. 258 ff. Langlois "La littérature goliardique," *Revue bleue*, Vol. L (1892); Santangelo, *Studio sulla poesia goliardica*, Palermo, 1902; Spiegel, *Der Ursprung des Vagantentums*, Würzburg, 1888, *Die Vaganten und ihr Orden*, Schweinfurt, 1902; W. Meyer, *Göttinger Nachrichten* (1907), pp. 75 ff., etc.

⁴ Not so Wilh. Meyer (cf. "Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas," *Göttinger Nachrichten Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1907, pp. 76, 83): "Others held the opinion that these Latin songs were composed by students or runaway monks or clerks who were without means and often much

they did, at least in so far as this lyric concerns the more artistic ballad pieces and satires so well known to us;¹ poems full of classical reminiscences, with interlacing rhymes, and artistic in structure. We may imagine if we will that an endless chain of peripatetic minstrels wandered forth from school and monastery, gaining their precarious bread by the tireless recitation of erotic poems.² I confess that this does not quite win my credence,

demoralized and degenerate. They are supposed to wander about the country (*Vaganten*) and find precarious support from day to day by the generous gifts they elicited through the singing of Latin songs. Thus is our literary history gradually come to the odd view that profane mediaeval poems in Provençal, French, and German were written chiefly by noble people, but the Latin ones by tatterdemalions (*Lumpen*).

"But, generally speaking, it is to be hoped that critics will finally cease referring the mediaeval Latin songs, particularly those that treat of wine, women, and gaming, on the one hand to a single poet such as the scholarly Walter of Châtillon, or on the other hand to beggarly vagabonds. These songs are, to be sure, composed by persons well versed in the Latin tongue, but such people were at that time the intellectual flower of Germany, France, and England. Above all, the majority and the most ardent of these lyrics we certainly owe to the young students. But at that period, as at all times, many older men as well, ecclesiastics, jurists, physicians, loved poetry and contributed many a flower to the rich garland of mediaeval Latin verse. Teachers of Latin were pre-eminently called to such a task, teachers of elegance of style and of poetry, for which posts professional poets were best adapted; and in such a company the *Primas* (Hugo of Orleans) seems to belong."

I confess I do not just grasp Meyer's reasoning. He is willing to concede that young students and older clerks wrote the songs, but objects to assigning them to beggarly and dissolute monks and clerks. These deprecatory adjectives have been so largely used by critics when speaking of the authors of some of these songs, because the themes of them presuppose rather graceless people, and because we are constantly advised that the young students and clerks were anything but a quiescent and moral lot. Parodies on hymns and masses, sodomitic allusions and pederastic pieces, odes to sexual intercourse, scoffing at calendered saints, begging for hats, coats, and trunks wherewith to cover nakedness, riotous drinking-songs, macaronic ditties with the nastier half in the vernacular tongue; blasphemy, braggadocio, and blnff! Would Wilh. Meyer have us believe these the carefully prepared pieces of quiet souls? And who may persuade us that runaway monks and scampish clerks were not possessed of even more flashing mental brilliancy than those who stayed within the walls of cell and study?

¹ I am not here discussing, nor thinking of, the greater pieces associated with the names of Goliath, Archipoeta, and Primas. For such genial and learned endeavor one or more scholars of unusual attainment must be posited, whether Mapes, or Serlo, or Walter, or Alanus, or Philip of Grève, or Hugo of Orleans—or another like them that we shall probably never know. Nor am I thinking of other larger and student-lamp-erudite pieces. I have in mind the real lyrics and shorter ballads, and pungent satirical bits such as could be and would be sung today, if a real understanding of the original texts and melodies might come to us.

² These vagabond students and clerks need not always (or even often) have been the authors of the pieces they sang and recited. In a sense these lyrics were *volkslieder*—or popularizing songs at any rate. *Schnaderhüpfel* sung by peasants in southern Germany today have been the product of poets like Castelli and Stelzhammer; folk-songs which a nation industriously hums, frequently without thought of their authorship, spring from Goethe, Uhland, Heine, Eichendorff, etc. This may well have been somewhat the state of things in mediaeval Europe. As romantic poets of recent days write *kostümlieder* by the thousand, songs full of wandering minstrels, postillions, miller-lads, huntsmen, etc., so doubtless did certain professional poets of an older age turn off roundelays and madrigals having to do with clerks and students and their adventures in foreign climes.

for this theory seems based overmuch upon the belief that in the twelfth century and thereafter none but professional students of one sort and another could write, ape, or understand Latin verses. But we may let this current doctrine pass, although before it be accepted fully more conclusive proof should be demanded.¹

There was presumably never an *ordo vagorum*—a close-knit fraternity of goliards. Such a thing is hinted at in but few songs and in such a way as to suggest a waggish jest and not sobriety. We know, too, that there were orders of all kinds promulgated by mediaeval literature as a fling at the different monastic orders. There was, for instance, an *ordo stultorum*, but who would imagine that the twenty-seven classes of its membership really set sail in the *narrenschiff* for Narragonia! The *Liber vagatorum* tells us of an order of beggars that had twenty-eight kinds of tramps.² Then there was the Ass's guild with its varying badges and insignia to show the world what an Independent Order of Odd Fellows it boasted of. There were many sorts of mock religious orders, like those in the *Land of Cockayne* and in other popular poems,³ but who would claim a real existence in fact for them? In other words a joke is a joke, even if it be misunderstood; and it seems strange that nothing less than trephining may convince some that there never was a guild of goliards.

Then certain others still believe bishop Golias to be a historical person and perhaps will continue in this faith, even after reading Mr. Manly's recent relegation of him to the Old Testament.⁴ But surely if he did live again in mediaeval times he was nearly related to the *abbas cucaniensis* and to the *praesul concu-*

¹ In his *Dark Ages* Maitland is ever on the track of such cocksure orthodoxy. Cf. p. 32 of his book (5th ed., 1890), where he demands evidence for the flat statement of Robinson: "During the ages we are contemplating persons of the highest rank and in the most eminent stations could not read or write." Now, as a matter of fact, Latin songs of a light variety may have thriven more widely and earlier than is commonly supposed because (1) as presented by the minstrel they were undoubtedly aided by gesture, vernacular interpolation, pantomime, and dance; (2) these songs would be patiently listened to even by audiences blissfully ignorant of their meaning, much as German, French, and Italian pieces are eagerly heard by "musicale" gatherings today.

² Cf. Ave-Lallement, *Geschichte des deutschen Gaunertums* (1858).

³ Cf. for example Nos. 209 and 210 in Uhland's *Volkslieder*:

Wir wollen ein klösterlein banen
von lauter schönen jungfrauen;
ein solcher orden wollen wir han, etc.

⁴ Cf. "Familia Goliae" in *Modern Philology*, Vol. V, pp. 201 ff.

cania,¹ of whom he once begged a mantle. He belonged, then, to the same court as that which harbored the *prince de sots* and the *roi de ribauds*—being perchance their chaplain. He served indifferently the *king of harlottes* and the *roi petaud* and lived for some years in the *empire de Galilée*. His spiritual master must have been the *papa scholasticus*, his sister in the flesh was the *abbess of Avignon brothels*, and the parentage of the *boy bishoppe* may well be ascribed to him. Once when on a pilgrimage of state he was royally received by the queen of Geneva trulls.²

But if the Latin minstrels of the eleventh and twelfth centuries did not constitute a guild, they are still imagined by many to be ever upon the march. They studied jurisprudence at Bologna, medicine at Salerno, dialectic at Rheims, grammar at Orleans, and theology at Paris.³ The face of Europe was dotted with teachers of rhetoric and the roads leading to their schools were black with graceless students wending their way thither—perhaps. But while there is an evident connection between some, even much, of mediaeval literature and such clerks, there is no need of insisting upon such a connection in the case of many Latin songs. Many lyrics were composed by scholars, many more were not. Every learner was not a minstrel any more than every minstrel was a learner. Below I am going to differentiate with what sharpness I may between goliardic poetry and popular Latin poetry. Meanwhile it is doubtless best to pause and see what can be done to rectify the general impression that the Latin lyric is a great insoluble mass, a corporate entity from which one cannot detach certain groups to study as examples of national expression.

Suppose we begin by dividing this mass into three parts, labeling one *Religious and Didactic*, another *Satire*, and the third *Ballads of Love, Spring, and Wine*. With some study of the

¹ Cf. *Carmina burana* (1847), No. 196; and the *Ridmus episcopi Gulii* (Werner Beitr. z. Kunde d. lat. Lit. d. MA.² [1905], p. 205). On the whole subject of the land of Cockagne see Graf, *Miti, leggende, e superstizioni del medio evo*, Vol. I (1892), pp. 229-38.

² He who would learn more of these "historical" prelates and potentates may consult Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*², p. 338.

³ Or, to quote the caustic monk of Froidmont (12th century): "In Paris these scholars seek liberal arts, in Orleans authors, at Salerno gallipots, at Toledo demons, and in no place decent manners." (Cf. *Biblioth. Cisterc.*, Vol. VII, p. 257.)

material it will be discovered that such a classification has a real existence in fact.

This division, to be sure, excludes much: for instance, narrative and epic poems on ancient subjects, such as the Fall of Troy or the deeds of Alexander; pseudo-historical records of the *gesta* of secular and churchly notables; rhyming prose devoted to the praise of continence, chess, mathematics, early-rising, grammar, and quasi-scientific study; alphabetic stanzas, acrostics, centos, catalogues of birds and beasts, epigrams, epitaphs, glosses, riddles, versified letters—in fact the most stilted poetry of the school routine; poetry forged when it was cold and beaten into shape with a hammer; verse which is the vehicle for every farrago of mediaeval nonsense; folderol of magic, incantations, natural history games, long descriptive pieces such as the *conflicti*. These and all their like are exempt from our treble division—but who would denominate them lyrics? They are void of the personal appeal and of all immediate interest. They describe no living scene, are without local color, have no *esprit de place*. They have about as much atmosphere as a Leyden jar. We might as well hunt for seventeenth-century Italy in the *Adriatische Rosamund* as seek aught of mediaeval Europe in the withered moss of such strophes. Such poetry as this—if poetry it be—Scherer is brooding on when he says all traces of its immediate origin are hid, but it is not the Latin garb in which it is clothed that hides the source; rather because it is the offscouring of dulness, the vapoing of empty minds.

True to the tenets elsewhere expressed, I believe it desirable to effect a separation of the mediaeval Latin lyric material according to theme and manner of treatment, rather than according to difference in external form. The customary division into metric on the one hand and rhythmic on the other does not appear necessarily distinctive, for our present purpose, at least. A lyric is surely no less a lyric whatever its outward guise. Who would dismiss Fulbert's spring-song from an anthology of mediaeval verse because of its conventional scaffolding?

When the earth, with spring returning, vests herself in fresher sheen,
And the glades and leafy thickets are arrayed in living green;

When a sweeter fragrance breatheth flowery fields and vales along,
Then, triumphant in her gladness, Philomel begins her song:
And with thick delicious warble far and wide her notes she flings,
Telling of the happy springtide and the joys that summer brings.
In the pauses of men's slumber deep and full she pours her voice,
In the labor of his travel bids the wayfarer rejoice.
Night and day, from bush and greenwood, sweeter than an earthly lyre,
She, unwearied songstress, carols, distancing the feathered choir,
Fills the hillside, fills the valley, bids the groves and thickets ring,
Made indeed exceeding glorious through the joyousness of spring.¹

Who would care to suppress from any discussion of the lyric during the Middle Ages the following two poems written four centuries apart, one by Alcuin or Fridugisus, the other by Marbod of Rennes, both of which treat of the healing influences of nature—a theme so common in modern art. Smoothly enough runs on the first:

O mea cella, mihi habitatio dulcis, amata,
Semper in aeternum, o mea cella, vale.
Undique te cingit ramis resonantibus arbos,
Silvula florigeris semper onusta comis.
Prata salutaris flore bunt omnia et herbis,
Quas medici quaerit dextra salutis ope.
Flumina te cingunt florentibus undique ripis,
Retia piscator qua sua tendit ovans.
Pomiferis redolent ramis tua claustra per hortos,
Lilia cum rosulis candida mixta rubris.
Omne genus volucrum matutinas personat odas,
Atque creatorem laudat in ore deum.²

¹ Cum telluris, vere novo, producantur germina,
Nemorosa circumcirca frondescunt et brachia;
Fragrat odor cum suavis florida per gramina,
Hilarescit Philomela, dulcis sonus conscia:
Et extendens modulando gutturi spiramina,
Reddit veris et aestivi temporis praeconia.
Instat nocti et diei voce sub dulcisona,
Soporatis dans quietem cantus per discrimina,
Necnon pulera viatori laboris solatia.
Vocis ejus pulchritudo clarior quam cithara;
Vincitur omnis cantando volucrum catervula;
Implet silvas atque cuncta modulis arbustula
Gloriosa valde facta veris prae laetitia.

For appreciative discussion of this and Marbod's song, cf. Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*³ (1874), pp. 47 ff. The translation is by J. M. Neale; cf. his *Mediaeval Hymns and Sequences* (1863).

² *Poetae aevi Karolini*, Vol. I (1881), ed. Dümmler, p. 243.

More awkwardly versified is the other, but a deeper earnestness veins it:

Moribus esse feris prohibet me gratia veris,
 Et formam mentis mihi mutuor ex elementis.
 Ipsi naturae congratulor, ut puto, jure:
 Distinguunt flores diversi mille colores,
 Gramineum vellus superinduxit sibi tellus,
 Fronde virere nemus et fructificare videmus;
 Egrediente rosa viridaria sunt speciosa.
 Qui tot pulcra videt, nisi flectitur et nisi ridet,
 Intractabilis est, et in ejus pectore lis est;
 Qui speciem terrae non vult cum laude referre,
 Invidet Auctori, cujus subservit honori
 Bruma rigens, aestas, auctumnus, veris honestas.¹

Lack of space alone forbids the listing of other metrical stanzas from the Carolingian poets as well as from those of a later day, which would show how clearly they may be regarded as forerunners of the great modern poets of nature, or even as true interpreters of the beauty of the world in which they dwelt. Francke calls attention to the isolation of the cloisters, to the humble tasks of monks in the way of cultivating the fields, to the close touch in which they came with the outdoor world of fertile valley or wilder summit, as animating causes of the lively sense for nature which many school poems exhibit. If we do but add one other source for the nature description found in such lines perhaps we have the whole truth. This other source are the *natureingänge* and vivification found everywhere in the rude popular song which every age exhibits. Such decorative bits as did not come to school-poetry from a Vergil, a Prudentius, or a Fortunatus, may well have been supplied by the inexhaustible treasury of folk-verse.

¹*Hildeberti et Marbodi Opera*, ed. Beaugendre (1708), p. 1617; Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. CXVII, p. 1117; Trench, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Mr. G. L. Hendrickson translates the poem:

That I should be harsh and brutish the grace of the springtime forbids,
 And the form of my soul I draw from the things about me.
 To Nature's self for this I give thanks and praise, nor, I think, without reason:
 For her flowers are gay with a thousand varied colors,
 A grassy fleece over the earth she has drawn.
 With leaves the grove is green and bursts with buds,
 Garden plots are bright with the emerging rose.
 Who such beauty can behold nor yet be moved nor glad,
 Him shall nothing have power to stir, and in his heart is discord;
 He who will not proclaim with praise the beauty of earth
 Is churlish toward his maker, whose honor serves
 The stern winter, summer, autumn, and the spring's loveliness.

Among much that is chaff one meets an occasional passage of true poetry which is perhaps the more moving for its very unexpectedness. We should be much the loser in omitting from our study of the mediaeval lyric the elegiac lines of Agius, which express his yearning for Hadumod,¹ the scene in Strabo's *Hortulus* where a mother fights off Death from her exhausted child, or the *Vision of Merchleof*, written by the English monk Æthelwulf (Clarus lupus).² The environment of such passages is largely metrical and stilted. But who can say from the ninth century on just what line divides meter from rhythm? Are the ensuing rhymed hexameters or doggerel verses—no matter if they be measured six feet to the line:

Ordo monasticus	ecclesiasticus	esse solebat,
Dura cibaria	cum per agrestia	rura colebat.
Nulla pecunia	nulla negotia	praepediebant,
Quam capitalia	quam venialia	nostra piebant. ³

More important surely for mediaeval philology than to sift and arrange poems carefully according to their meters is the task of calling attention to what is worth while in these verses;⁴ to do away with the impression which often still prevails that the Latin of the Middle Ages separates ancient from modern times, much as the desert of Sahara lies between the Atlantic Ocean and the valley of the Nile.⁵ And yet another reason why we may be per-

¹*Poetae aevi Karolini*, Vol. III, ed. Traube, pp. 369 ff.; Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages* (New York), 1903, p. 299.

²Cf. *Poetae aevi Karolini*, Vol. III, Part 2, p. 35; *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 582 ff.; Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen* (1888), p. 8.

³For other examples of such rhymed hexameters cf. Wilhelm Meyer's "Radewins Theophilus und die Arten der gereimten Hexameter" (*Sitzungsber. d. Münchener Akad.* (1873), Vol. I, pp. 74 ff.), or now his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik* (1905), Vol. I, pp. 84 ff.

⁴Winterfeld prefaced the *Stilfragen aus der lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters* with the statement: "Mediaeval philology would surrender the finest results it could possibly attain, it would be dead at its own hands, if it neglected to winnow out from the whole mass of literature that which is vital for us today, that which deserves to endure or to be awakened into new life. There is not overmuch of such material; but they are unlettered who refuse the claim of the Middle Ages to have produced individual compositions of the highest order—real national creations, even though they are written in the language of Rome."

⁵Hark while Budik speaks with trumpet voice: "Since the ages of Pericles and Augustus, whose perfect creations enjoy imperishable youth, until the middle of the fifteenth century, one sees nothing but a desert waste, the dreary and sterile monotony of which is broken only by some scattered brushwood, whose most vigorous productions awaken rather astonishment than admiration." Cf. *Leben und Wirken der vorzüglichsten lateinischen Dichter des xv-xviii. Jahrhunderts* (1828), p. 7.

mitted to divide the mass of mediaeval song into the three categories above suggested is that we desire in all simplicity to detach a certain group from the complete corpus in order to refer it to Germany (or to France, as the case may be). We may then speak of such a group as a national and native product, and not as a cosmopolitan and universal one; if, that is, we succeed in making evident that Germany had previous to its native *minnesang* a more or less popular tradition of Latin love-songs written by Germans then one source at least of the Swabian efflorescence is made clear. And Latin *minnelieder* become the utterance of German sentimentality, if we successfully fix their roots in Bavarian soil. Latin love-songs though they be, we may then regard them as lyrics written by Germans, the outgrowth of southern German life and social conditions, the expression of their immediate environment, just as truly and as nearly as all the tuneful poetry of Goethe is but the later budding of his Main-and-Rhein sojourn, a region where blood flows as lightly and merrily as wine.

THREE LYRIC TYPES: RELIGIOUS, SATIRICAL, EROTIC

The first sort of Latin lyric—the religious and didactic poem—existed continuously all through the early centuries and in the Middle Ages. The church hymn and the ode to some particular saint, devout inscriptions on portal and tomb, philosophizing distichs on the evils of this world and the glories of the next, admonitions to chastity and piety, elucidations of Old Testament story—these fairly distinguishable sorts of religious and didactic lyric are foreign to our present endeavor. It is not their Latin diction which obscures all trace of their place of origin—it is rather the dead level of their manner and tone, the unvarying theme of their discourse. Even when they do become elegiac or sentimental, or contain as often bits of nature-description¹ and lilting cadences,

¹Prudentius, from whom scores of mediaeval hymnodists copied, is full of such nature-descriptions, beautiful in color and often worldly in tone. One may cull them from almost any page of his *Cathemerinon*. The following quatrain is typical of many:

Methinks in all her rustic bowers
The earth is spread with clustering flowers:
Odors of nard and nectar sweet
E'en o'er the sands of Syrtes fleet.

Did we not know the context we could easily confuse such places as this with the utterances of Ausonius in his *De rosas nascentibus*, or his *Mosella*, or with such stanzas as that in which

rising at times to really fervid and emotional utterance¹—as a body of verse they still remain aside from the real world of life and living men, and their prototype is almost without exception the Bible and the older Latin literature, classical or patristic. Adam of St. Victor, with whom perhaps even Hildebert of Tours cannot dispute the palm of sacred Latin poetry, is a notable illustration of this. A perusal of his hymns will show them to be weighted with learned allusion² that rarely fuses into the passion of his verse, that gives no hint of the land of his birth or his adoption. The authors of many such pieces are known—such a one French, this one English, that one of Italy; but yet none should make bold to find localized description in them, they do not smell of the soil that bore them, they do not sing peculiar scenes. They either glow with a fervor single to the kingdom of God or shiver frostily in the chill gleams of professional religiosity and cant. They are generally but the frozen and inane emanation of a poetical rhetoric that was the serving-maid of theology, whether they spring from Aix or Orleans, from Paris or Padua.

There are, however, two related lyric forms which it costs something to lay aside. One is the secular ode modeled directly upon hymns to the Virgin; the other is the religious parody. According to the standards of today the first class is apt to be regarded as lecherous—but in certain cases it is impossible to decide whether we are confronted by mediaeval naïveté or by the most outspoken brutality. It is difficult for us to imagine a deliberate sensuality appearing in the cult of Mary-worship which the twelfth century carried to such extravagance,³ and yet we may scarcely rid ourselves of suspicion. It is unnecessary to deal with this topic at

Symmachus sings the charms of Gaurus and Baja. Cf. Pope, *The Hymns of Prudentius* (London), 1904, pp. 25, 27, 39, 45, 47, 53, 91, 105, 128; Ampère, *Histoire littéraire de la France avant Charlemagne* (1867)², p. 268; Boissier, *La fin du paganisme* (1891), Vol. II, p. 213.

¹ I should not willingly be thought guilty in this connection of lightly dismissing the claims of mediaeval hymnody to that which in individual instances it attained: the greatest artistic beauty of lyric expression between the Silver Age and the Age of Renaissance. I am merely characterizing with a sole aim in view the great mass of religious and didactic utterance as we find it, say, in Dreves' *Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi*, in the *Poetae ævi Karolini*, and other encyclopedic collections.

² Cf. Gautier, *Œuvres poétiques d'Adam de St. Victor* (1881)²; Dreves, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 278, 416; Trench, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff.

³ Cf. Gourmont, *Le latin mystique* (1892), p. 202; also Salzer, *Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur und lateinischen Hymnenpoesie des Mittelalters* (1890).

any length and so I will content myself with printing what may be regarded as an *urtypus* of this sort of thing and then dismiss the matter with a note.¹

Ave, pulcra pelle, pulpa,
 Foecundata sine culpa,
 Sine viri semine!
 Ave, cujus pulcrimenti
 Totus fulgor firmamenti
 Vincitur vibramine!
 Ave, pulcra naso, malis,
 Pulcra dorso, pulcra palis,
 Dentiumque serie!
 Pulcra, pulcrum aliorum
 Formam vincis et olorum
 Olorina facie.

Luckily such travesties of sacred odes do not seem to contain the living spark. Compared with the long life which dwelt within other kinds of mediaeval lyric they had their ephemeral day and passed. Not so with the bacchic songs which parodied religious lyrics, such as:

Ave! Color vini clari;
 Ave! Sapor sine pari;
 Tua nos inebriari
 Digneris potentia!

¹ Personally I connect such songs with the longer descriptive pieces dealing with the mistress bit by bit, and believe that they both had their origin in monastic and clerical celibacy. Here, too, in my opinion, belong the paidika and pederastic poems. Such themes as the dissection of the weaker sex into a hundred anatomical parts and love-messages to boys we know were seized upon avidly by mediaeval poetasters and the resultant verses had a wide diffusion almost beyond that of any other type of song. In the course of casual reading in mediaeval poetry and prose I have been able to add some thirty titles to the bibliography of sodomy in the Middle Ages contained in Traube, *O Roma nobilis*, p. 308; Du Méril (1847), p. 102; Dümmler *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXII, p. 256; and Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*², p. 375. And as to the other theme — the microscopical study of woman — there is literally no end to the number of its adherents. He who wishes to have his fill of such cataloguing at a single sitting may turn best perhaps to the narrative poem of 150 leonine distichs printed in Dümmler's *Anselm der Peripatetiker* (Halle), 1872, or to Gerald of Barri's *Descriptio cujusdam puellae* in 49 distichs (*Opera*, 1862, ed. Brewer, Vol. II).

Two matters of some importance we may gain from a study of this perversion of poetry: (1) If such voluptuousness be the result, as I imagine, of continence rather than of loose-living, then most of this unchaste verse need not be regarded as the work of ribald and blasphemous clerks whom learning had spoiled for the church, but rather as the tortured fancies bred in monkish cells — fancies that at times border (as Symonds suggests) upon delirium. (Cf. Hagen, *Carmina mediæ ævi* [1877], pp. 178 ff.); (2) Where no certain records of date exist, we do not need to deny an early mediaeval origin of such songs as the *Lydia bella candida puella*, merely because their intensity of passion appear to the impulsive critic to be "classical" or "modern."

Felix venter quem intrabis!
Felix lingua quam rigabis!
Felix os quod tu lavabis,
Et beata labia!¹

These drinking-songs had a long and sturdy, if little dignified, line of descendants. There are many reasons for such popularity: they were singable and simple ordinarily beyond their compeers which dealt with sexual love, and they were more natural. Sometimes they contain an honest note of protest, often a sparkling wit. As they get farther and farther from their original *Ave* model they often deserve inclusion among the best drinking-songs—and this is high praise—which the Middle Ages have given us. But for our purpose, which is to contrast popular Latin poetry with that of the school and church, they had best remain in the place to which their origin assigns them: with the religious ode which they caricature. For, whatever may be the animating motive of these stanzas, whether intentional parody or imitation of sacred verses as a matter of pure convenience, the result is the same. They are general and vague in tone, without distinctive appeal. No more cosmopolitan and threadbare expression can be imagined than that which clothes them. If we happen to suspect that a certain Frenchman, say, wrote one of them, it was as a clerk that he wrote, not as a Frenchman—and his model has been so closely followed or transcribed that no trace of authorship can be safely postulated.

Now in laying aside from the discussion the Latin religious lyric it must not be thought that I am prone to doubt the important influence which has been ascribed to it as a model for much of the profane lyric. But we do not need, on the basis of all our evidence, to believe that the mediaeval Latin song owed its very existence to either school or church. I may hope to have made at least acceptable in an earlier essay the doctrine that a German popular balladry ever existed; such poems were of course accentual in utterance, like similar *volkslieder* in neighboring France. And there is no need of our holding in the light of this knowledge that

¹For a full treatment and bibliography of sacred parody in mediaeval and modern literature cf. Novati, *Studi critici e letterari* (Turin), 1889, pp. 179-310. The listing of a score of other titles which deal with this same subject in one phase or another would have no point here, as Novati's remarkable essay contains them all.

church hymns exercised a predominant influence in bringing about rhythmic verse when the latter was everywhere already.¹ There was as we know a profane poetry in the Middle Ages which imitated awkwardly but assiduously the metrical (quantitative) poems of classical authors. There was, too, a profane poetry which was much influenced by the church hymn and like it employed rhythmic (accentual) expressions. The former of these was ordinarily known as *versus*, the latter as *mod(ul)i*. Immense bodies of poetic writing represent the one or the other of these classes; and still there need be no fear in believing that one sort of erotic lyric—the kind which lent itself most readily to dance and song, to lightness and grace and swing—found its most perfect model in the vernacular measures which German and French already knew. This may seem a dogmatic statement and at first blush unwarranted by the facts. It is an assertion which should not be lightly made, but it may not with justice be lightly dismissed. I would but ask the reader's reservation of judgment until the facts are all displayed, and in order not to duplicate evidence would refer him once for all to what has been adduced in my previous article already referred to.

If we must exclude the first class of lyric, then, from our study of native and national song written in Latin—if the Religious and Didactic poem does not answer to the demands made upon a popular body of verse—let us now examine the other two sorts: the Satire, and the Ballads of Love, Spring, and Wine.

¹ Rather than attempt a statement of my own on this important point I believe it all-sufficient to quote the words of Gaston Paris (*Lettre à M. Léon Gautier sur la versification latine rythmique*, 1866, p. 23): "Pour moi, je pense au contraire que la versification rythmique est d'origine toute populaire, qu'elle n'a d'autre source qu'elle-même, qu'elle a existé de tout temps chez les Romains, qu'elle ne doit rien à la métrique, et qu'elle est avec elle précisément dans le même rapport que la langue populaire, le *sermo plebeius*, avec la langue littéraire de Rome. Toutes deux ont eu la même destinée; la langue lettrée et la versification métrique, mortes réellement avec l'empire, ont conservé chez les savants une vie artificielle qui dure encore; la langue populaire et la versification rythmique ont continué à vivre, et se sont développées et ramifiées dans les langages et dans les poésies des nations romaines. La versification populaire notamment, méprisée et obscure au temps de la grandeur romaine, conservée à peine en quelques fragments par des écrivains amateurs d'anecdotes qui ont sacrifié la dignité à la curiosité, acquit avec le christianisme un domaine immense et une inspiration nouvelle, et produisit bientôt avec une richesse inouïe de quoi porter pendant dix siècles toute la poésie de plusieurs grands peuples: c'est véritablement le grain de sénévé de la parabole, vile semence, dédaigneusement jetée en terre, qui devient un arbre aux mille branches, verdoyant et touffu, sur lequel chantent les oiseaux du ciel."

Some claim has already been put forward for the mediaeval Latin satire as an essentially French thing. Giesebrecht long ago insisted upon northern France as the birthplace of the goliard and of goliardic poetry.¹ And he seems in a way to have won his point, despite the fact that his attempt to identify the archpoet (Goliard) with Walter of Châtillon has failed,² and that the claims advanced for Germany and England (even for Italy)³ have never been definitely quashed. But historians and critics of French literature still treat of Latin satire as a thing apart from the development of national spirit and vernacular progress.⁴ Whereas, if we but substantiate their claim to French origin, Latin satires become in a trice the precipitate of Gallic wit. Does the investigator not thus yield to the temptation of regarding the problem which confronts him in the case of any text as a literary rather than a historical one, so that if he be confronted by a Latin satire, or by an oriental tale written in Latin, he is prone to consider them un-French matters, because their sources or their manner are cosmopolitan and extraneous, and not provincial? Would it not be more profitable to view any literary expression that grew hardily in mediaeval France from the background of mediaeval France itself?

For, suppose such forms as appear in France at this time, except for the indigenous *chansons de geste* and the *canso*, were transplanted from other climes; does this mean that we can afford to study them other than as the product of this age and this particular region? Must we not seek in them the idea of their French adapters rather than the original theme which they received from other and older civilizations? The palm tree and the olive which are such characteristic features of the northern Mediterranean land-line are demonstrably new adaptations. The whole plant growth of many

¹ *Allgemeine Monatsschrift* (1853), pp. 16 ff.

² Cf. Hauréau, *Not. et. Extr.*, Vol. XXIX, pt. 2, pp. 253 ff., and Meyer, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, p. 75.

³ Cf. J. Grimm, and Wright, *opp. cit.*, and Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1869).

⁴ So much so that it comes never to mention except perhaps in some single instance where an individual Latin poem offers the source of a French derivative. Cf. Lenient, *La satire en France au moyen âge* (1893); Haessner, *Goliardendichtung u. Satire im xiii. Jhd. in England* (1905); Langlois, *Revue bleue* (1892), p. 808.

a European landscape has quite changed within historic times. But do we therefore consider this vegetation a foreign thing? Is not any growth which takes root in a new soil and prospers for generations in sun and rain the very product of the new soil to which it has been transplanted? In final analysis is not practically everything a nation possesses borrowed at some time or other from an outland source, at least so far as external form is concerned? We have just termed the *chanson de geste* indigenous to France, but in last reduction is it French or is it German? And who shall ever solve the problem of what to denominate the oral tradition of the Merovingian epoch? Was it still German, all Latin, or a near-Latin known as Romanice?

Now I may not attempt to deal here further with the mediaeval satire as an essentially French development, for several reasons. First, I am at present little fitted for the task; second, if done at all, it must be made the subject of another occasion in order not to confuse the issue of the present one; and third, satirical poetry seems to me only lyric in that highest flight it takes when it ceases to deal with the stereotyped abuses of the Roman church and expresses the poet's personal feeling of injury or shame. So many twelfth- and thirteenth-century satirical poems are nothing more than mere objurgations of the inherent viciousness of woman, of dissuasion from sodomy and greed, of complaint of simony and niggardliness within the church, that the personal element so necessary to all lyric expression is lost.

It must, however, not be felt that these words constitute an evasion of the point before us. He who devotes sufficient study to the task will find that thirteenth-century English satire owes much in form and spirit to the Latin satire which thousands of young English students learned to know at the schools of northern France;¹ and, what is much more to the point, he will learn to distinguish sharply between Latin satires composed on the one hand by Frenchmen and on the other by Englishmen. Thus will an added distinguishing mark be gained for the temperament of

¹ I miss from the otherwise excellent chapter of Schofield on "Anglo-Latin Literature" a sufficient acknowledgment of this debt. Cf. *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (1906), pp. 59 ff.

either nationality during the age in question. And this, I take it, is one of the highest rewards for which the comparative study of literature strives.

And now perhaps we should be ready to take up the third type of mediaeval Latin lyric, the twelfth-century Ballads of Love, Spring, and Wine, and show how a double tradition maintained within this class: one that of the school and of learning, the other altogether popular in tone and as simple as any of the tuneful Romantic songs of thirteenth- or nineteenth-century Germany. But before we come to this final chapter there is still pioneer work to be done. Because there exists no adequate history of mediaeval poetry it is not generally known that before the twelfth century Latin lyrical poetry shows the same types as later. This we shall therefore demonstrate before dealing with the lyrical type of special interest to us.

LATIN LYRICAL POETRY PREVIOUS TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY

We have seen thus far that there is a tendency to assign to the protean mime the lyric material previous to the end of the eleventh century, in so far as it was not the work of clerics;¹ and from then forward to bespeak the same material for the goliard. Now the first of these appellations has been shown to be but a generic term for "entertainer," and the same fact is true of the latter word. If we examine the records of twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries we find *goliardi* closely adjoined to and synonymous with *ribaldi*, *bufones*, *leccatores*, *joculatores*, *trutanni*, *vagi scholares*, *parasiti*, *histriones*, *pauperes*, *enchanteors*, *menestrieux*, and the like. "Goliard" like "villein" has become a

¹ Gröber (*Grundriss*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 180) would surrender practically all this early material to the cleric. Of the poetry during the ninth and tenth centuries he says: "Profane sentiment and sympathy with earthly pleasures, the prerequisites of a secular lyric, were so reckoned a shame by the cleric who alone (!) could use the Latin language, that he dared not find expression for them in poetry. Impenetrable to earthly joy and sorrow alike, he was prone to struggle against worldly impulses, and only referred to them in his writing to warn against them or to implore divine aid in their subduing. And when the cleric does allude to worldly themes he so conquers them, so tones them down, that his personal dignity does not suffer in the least. Very little documented verse of this time (A. D. 800-1000) oversteps such limitations."

wide term of derogation and reproach¹ and little is therefore to be gained by associating the name with a great mass of mediaeval Latin poetry which deals in every possible way with almost everything under heaven from the tenth to the fifteenth century.

I believe it would add everywhere to clarity of discussion, if the term "goliardic poetry" was retained for erotic and satirical Latin verses written by school poets from the rise of learning in the twelfth century down to say the Italian Renaissance; this would allow us to speak of a "popular Latin poetry" when referring during the same period to erotic and singable Latin lyrics which are free from the quibbles and formulae of the more mechanical and cultured poetry. Before the twelfth century the popular sort of Latin verse may be referred to a "minstrelsy," the remainder of it which is evidently the labor of school bench and monkish cell may be denominated "clerical" or "school" poetry. If we wish, we may of course substitute the mime for the minstrel when we speak of popularizing verse before 1100, but this would appear undesirable because of the false implications of the word suggested above. It is at least necessary that we possess concise terms with which to designate the opposing sorts of verse of which we are now come to speak, to avoid the confusion which arises from the consideration of them as one indissoluble entity.

First, let us pass in review what there was in Latin poetry before the twelfth century that furnished models for the verses of the goliards. Such a list is not elsewhere accessible, and I may therefore be forgiven for entering upon the subject at greater length than would otherwise be necessary. The result of this examination will show that for two centuries before Abelard, St. Bernard, and Walter of Châtillon there existed in France and Germany Latin lyrics and ballads pliant in meter, ready in rhyme,

¹Cf. the suggestive declension of this word written down by some surly mediaeval scholar (Novati, *Carmina medii aevi*, 1883, p. 28):

<i>Singulariter</i>		<i>et Pluraliter</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	hic villanus	hi maledicti
<i>Gen.</i>	hujus rustici	horum tristium
<i>Dat.</i>	huic tferfero	his mendacibus
<i>Acc.</i>	hunc furem	hos nequissimos
<i>Voc.</i>	o latro	o pessimi
<i>Abl.</i>	ab hoc depredatore	ab his infidelibus

sure in diction, emotional in nature; requiring but the life-giving breath and the enlarging mold of a cosmopolitan and awakened age to make of them the graceful poetry of the mediaeval Latin students.

I may not speak for another, but I believe the first sensation which comes from reading in the volumes of *Poetae aevi Karolini* is one of frank disappointment. It is a little perhaps as if one's hand had reached out half unconsciously for a book of poems and picked up a table of logarithms instead. We feel as though it must have been a sorry kind of poetry which devoted itself so largely to epitaphs, inscriptions on church gates, riddles, acrostics, book titles, and the like. The whole is at first blush about as lively as a collection of burial urns.¹ And there are unfortunately many who close the covers of these volumes never to return to them.

If we are patient, however, and continue in our search through the broad acre of measured lines, we begin to gain insight into matters which interest us. As we grow accustomed to the absence of rhyme, to the dearth of theme, to the stilted manner which is characteristic of even the best of this poetry, what with its constant borrowing from classical imagery and its hollow reminiscence of biblical phrasing, we become conscious that while real beauty and earnestness is ever lacking, while the deep issues of life are never touched, there is yet before us a body of adequate diction, a certain level dignity, a smooth, if shallow, surface of expression. How great a step in advance is marked by these things he alone knows who has labored, let us say, with the phrases of the French grammarian Virgilius Maro, with the befuddled *Hisperica famina*,² or—truth to tell—with the Merovingian bar-

¹ It is perhaps much to be regretted that we have not fuller remains of the Latin poetry written by Irishmen during the sixth and seventh centuries. We know that there reigned in the schools of Ireland at this period not alone among her professed scholars but among the plain missionaries as well a classical spirit, a love of literature for its own sake, and a keen delight in poetry. Cf. Hauréau's chapter on the "Écoles d'Irlande" in his *Singularités historiques et littéraires* (1861), and Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought* (1884), p. 12. For a complete but brief survey of the Irish missions, cf. Haddan's "Scots on the Continent" (*Remains*, Oxford, 1876, pp. 253-94). Cf. also Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (1905), pp. 202-73; Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (1903), pp. 421 ff.

² For the latest and best treatment of these two, with full bibliography, cf. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques*, pp. 110 ff., 283 ff.

barisms of Gregory of Tours. In fact the voluble euphuism of Venantius Fortunatus, much as the Carolingian poets owed to it, offers not the sure foundation for coming lyricality that the broad, thin lines of ninth-century canting do.¹ To quote almost at random from the better-known material of this time, here are the opening words of the *Epitaphium Chlodarii pueri regis*:

Hoc satus in viridi servatur flosculus arvo,
 Pulchrior en lacte candidiorque nive,
 Donec altipotens veniat per saecula iudex,
 Qui metet ostrifluas falce perenne rosas.
 Hunc tua, Jordanis, sacrata protulit unda,
 Pampinus Engadi rore beavit eum.
 Livida purpureis vaccinia cincta rosetis
 Vernat ut et rosola gliscit in omne decus,
 Pallida ceu sandix inter viburna refulgit,
 Et nitit imbrifluus Cynthus altus aquis,
 Ut rubit obriza flagranti cocta camino,
 Et rutilat vario Indus honore lapis.²

After a little we begin to meet with nature-introductions, or a few lines on outdoor nature tucked away here and there in longer narrative pieces, and occasionally even with whole songs (if one may call them so) devoted to pastoral scenes. Stiff they are still, even the *De cuculo* attributed to Alcuin, and the *Carmen philomelaicum* of Paulus Albarus, and the *Ecloga* of Naso, but they stir the sense with pleasant anticipation of what is to come when poetry shall leave the apron-strings of doctrinal theology and come to wander through the earth alone.

Lumine candoris clarent hic lilia celi,
 Fulbe rose florens imitant his purpura terre
 Et viole pariter stellarum vice coruscant.
 Dum vario redolent pariter unite colore,
 Albeole renitent ceu unio lilia conclis,
 Instar et gipsae conplectens colla puelle
 Lactea. . . .

¹ Winterfeld would have brushed this statement impatiently aside. "Mimes everywhere," he declares. "One citation more or less makes blessed little (*blutwenig*) difference. The Merovingian time was better than its reputation. It has in the poems of its mimes works to offer us that contain more poetic strength than the whole erudite Round Table of Charles the Great could achieve" (*op. cit.*, pp. 74 and 57). I am willing to be convinced of this, but not until the "poems of its mimes" are reconstructed in a way that will make comparison with Carolingian hexameters possible.

² *Pauli et Petri carmina dubia*, no. 39.

Work such as this may be *meistergesang*, but it cannot be denied that there is excellence indwelling in it. The time was not yet ripe perhaps for what the next century or two were to bring: a real renaissance of conscious poetry written by men who were alive to their finger tips. And yet when the new springtime came, it was, so far as we may tell, only the late fruition of forces at work during the previous generations, for swelling lines such as the opening verses of the *Planctus Karoli* tell of what is coming:

A solis ortu usque ad occidua
Littora maris planctus pulsat pectora.
Heu mihi misero!

This was composed not later than the year 815 and some thirty years thereafter Gottschalk could swing into verse like that to a boy:

O quid jubes, pusiole?
Quare mandas, filiole,
Carmen dulce me cantare,
Cum sim longe exul valde,
Intra mare?
O cur jubes canere?

Such hints as these show an occasional tendency to depart from the conventional mold of classicality, but they weigh little when compared with the great mass of Merovingian and Carolingian poetry, where elegies, encomia, epithalamia, ballads of battle,¹

¹ Winterfeld creates a false impression in translating these into the *Nibelungen*-quatrain and in adopting also the phrases of the *Bänkelsänger*; we have but to compare his verses with the original, to see how he reads in what does not exist:

Omnes gentes qui fecisti, tu Christe, dei sobules,
Terras, fontes, rivos, montes et formasti hominem.
Avaresque convertisti ultimis temporibus.

Thus begins the story of Pippin's victory over the Avari, and not as we should believe from Winterfeld:

Christe, du Sohn Gottes, der du die Völker all'
Erschaffen und Land und Quellen, Bach und Berge zumal,
Der du nach deinem Bilde den Menschen hast gemacht,
Du hast in der letzten Frist auch die Hunnen heimgebracht.

Likewise in the ballad of Fontenoy:

Aurora cum primo mane tetram noctem dividens,
Sabbatum non illud fuit, sed Saturni dolum;
De fraterna rupta pace gaudet daemon impius;

we discover but slight indication of the following:

Des Frührots erster Strahl das Dunkel der Nacht zerriss;
Da wurde Macht gegeben dem Fürsten der Finsternis,
Kein Sabbat war's, der graute: gebrochen der Brüder Bund,
Mit wildem Hohangelächter frohlockte der Hölle Schlund.

Much depends on the translator's whim in such matters; if he translates in the manner of *Genesis*, the result reminds of *Genesis*, if he adopt Horatian diction we are reminded of

and even invitations to love and to wine are complacently measured off at about two ells to the line.

And yet, if there were no further evidence at hand of the Merovingian and Carolingian poetry than what is to be found in the volumes of the *Poetae aevi Karolini*¹ we could still be prepared for an efflorescence of lyrical poetry some two or three centuries later. For, if we but remove the theological allusions of the earlier poems and substitute for them the color and joy of life which the new humanism brought in its wake; if we but exchange for copied hexameters a cadenced swing and rhyme, lyrical pieces are won for us. Majesty, smoothness, and the full vocabulary of poetic diction were already at hand for mediaeval Latin students and poets, and they made good use of their opportunity.

But, happily, another sort of poem was handed down to the goliards—songs from a minstrelsy as brimful of verve and lightness as any to which they attained. Samples (all too few!) of this sort of thing have come down to us. There is the atrabilious correspondence between two Merovingian bishops, Importunus of Paris and Chrodebert of Tours (*ca.* A. D. 665), written in a rhythmic prose that is curiously effective: five letters in all, of which the following may yield an illustration:

Nay, as true as you're a goat,
A deal too far you're going;
The measure as it is

Horace; and naturally if he introduce the terms of mediaeval minstrelsy, we are ready to swear the thing was written by a mime. But after Winterfeld is done and finished, the originals are what they were before he ever began: awkward long lines after the fashion of their time.

¹ It is a shock to learn that we may be called upon to sacrifice the priceless reference to love-songs contained in the Carolingian capitulary of 789 (*cf.* Boretius, *Capit. reg. Franc.*, I, 63: "et nullatenus ibi *winileodos* scribere vel mittere praesumant: et de pallore earum propter sanguinis minuationem"). Till now this passage has been generally believed to forbid certain nuns to write love-songs and to achieve an interesting but dangerous pallor. Some critics, it is true, insisted on interpreting *winileodos* as songs of joy and acclaim, or even as choral songs of labor (Uhl, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XXXVIII [1906], p. 123), but most of us felt constrained to regard them as erotic verses because of the context in which we found them.

Recently, however, Jostes has translated the Latin phrase above-quoted: "And under no consideration shall they make bold to enlist or dispatch *constables* (*Schutzmannen*), not even because of their fear: (this we decree) that bloodshed may be lessened." *Cf.* *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XLIX (1907), p. 310. While it cannot be said that Jostes effectually establishes his point, he supports it with good evidence, and thereby furnishes renewed testimony to the difficulty of definitely gaining the sense of Merovingian Latin.

Runs full to overflowing.
 You need emasculation —
 I'm frank enough to tell —
 To keep the living soul of you
 From roasting down in hell.
 Ah, at the day of Judgment
 You will be in evil case!
 For lechers are afraid to look
 Upon God's holy face.¹

And we have the hint of a mocking distich or song in the quip of an eighth-century minstrel related to us by the Monk of St. Gall (*de rebus gestis Karoli magni* I, 13; *Monumenta Germaniae historica; Scriptores*, Vol. II, p. 736): *Nunc habet Uodalricus honores perditos in oriente et occidente, defuncta sua sorore!*

Less than a century later we learn of how a song made mock of Hug timidus: *qui erat timidus super omnes homines. Sic enim cecinerunt ei domestici sui, ut aliquando pedem foris sepe ponere ausus non fuisset.* This poor count is historically documented, having died (of fright?) at Tours in the year 837.²

Of milder tone, but bubbling with cynical humor, are the tales of the abbot of Anjou, and of the hermit who wished to be an angel.

In Angers, it is said, there dwells a priest;
 The name he bears is that of Father Adam.
 There's no Angevin man among them all

¹ A translation offered only after much hesitation, because of difficulty in approximating the tone of the original:

Bonus nunquam eris,
 Dum tale via tenes.
 Per tua cauta longa,
 Satis est vel non est?
 Per omnia jube te castrare,
 Ut non peccas per talis,
 Quia fornicatoris Deus indicabit, etc.

Cf. de Rozières, *Recueil général des formules usitées dans l'empire des Francs avant le x. siècle*; Boucherie, *Cinq formules rythmées* (1867), p. 26; *Revue critique* (1867), p. 344; Zeumer, *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi* (1886), p. 220; Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 453; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV (1905), pp. 60 f.; Winterfeld, "Die Dichterschule St. Gallens," *Illbergs Neue Jahrb.*, Vol. V, p. 358.

² Cf. Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. I, p. 453; *Pauls Grundriss*, Vol. II², p. 69; Kögel, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I, Part 1, pp. 55-77. And did not Notker Labeo cry out: *In me psal. lebant qui bibebant vinum?* Other mocking songs of this time are mentioned in *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 437.

With half his kidney, when it comes to bibbing.
 Hurrah, hurrah! The praise we sing,
 The praise we sing of Bacchus.¹

So drank a churchman in the age of Charles the Great—and the swing of the song reminds us of a later *kommerslied* which celebrates the stout-hearted tippling of Johannes de Foucris:

Propter nimium Est Est
 Dominus meus mortuus est.

And at the close of the tenth century a French minstrel immortalized a little monk in a ditty:

A monk named John, of stature small,
 But in the virtues straight and tall,
 Thus to the older brother spoke,
 Who dwelt with him mid hermit-folk:²
 "I fain would live like those above,"
 He said, "secure in Heaven's love
 No raiment wear, nor viands take,
 Such as the hands of men do make."

But alack! The grass of the fields was but an ill lining for his paunch, and the frost was not tempered for his nakedness; so came it that he repented him of his desire, ran straightway home, and was content ever afterward to be but a good little hermit.

Another type of song, however, than the humorous and rollicking ballad, or the mournful plaint (like the *verna feminae suspiria*), we find at the very end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century in the spring song: short invocations to the

¹ Cf. Dümmler, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 262, 265; Winterfeld, *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV (1905), pp. 58 f.

Andecavis abas esse dicitur,
 Ille nomen primum tenet hominum;
 Hunc fatentur vinum vellet bibere
 Super omnes Andecavis homines.
 Eia, eia, eia laudes,
 Eia laudes dicamus Libero.

² Cf. Jaffé, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XIV, p. 469; Piper, *Deut. Nat.-Lit.*, Vol. CCXXI, pp. 232 f.; Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, p. 21:

Johannes abba, parvulus
 Statura, non virtutibus,
 Ita majori socio,
 Quicum erat in heremo:
 Volo, dicebat, vivere
 Secure sicut angelus,
 Nec veste, nec cibo frui,
 Qui laboretur manibus.

warmth and beauty of it, generally without parallelism. Such are the songs published by Werner,¹ one of which will suffice:

Hyemale	Terra floret
Tempus vale,	Sicut solet,
Aestas redit cum laetitia	Revirescunt lilia;
Cum calore,	Rosae flores
Cum decore	Dant odores,
Quae aestatis sunt indicia.	Canunt alatilia.

Slight in structure, commonplace enough in idea, if you will; and yet as simple in the presentation of its theme as any German folk-song may be. Hushed are the flowing nature-descriptions borrowed from Vergil, softened are the too vivid colors of Prudentius; there remains the slender, almost lean, grace that we associate with earliest German *minnesang*.

And still let us pause to consider two other types of song, for this is necessary if we will give an adequate idea of the complexity of form existant in the Latin lyric before the twelfth century. One is the earliest known *tagelied* or *aube* from the early tenth century: a song of three stanzas in Latin with a Provençal refrain. What scope for speculation does this not offer! It has been determined by critics to be of a decidedly clerical character, though why I know not, save for a chance resemblance of part of one line to a phrase in Ambrose's *Morning Hymn*. Even if the reader after viewing the poem believe it to be ecclesiastic in cast, what matters it? The refrain is undoubtedly taken from popular song, and it is as reasonable to believe the rest a clerical verse modeled on a pre-existent vernacular model,² as to think the type of *aube*, or lovers' waking-song, so widely disseminated in mediaeval Europe to have grown from a monkish root.³

¹ Cf. *Germania*, Vol. XXXVII (1892), p. 230. Traube called attention to the prior publication of *De terrae gremio* in the *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. XLVII, p. 89, and hinted the like in the case of *Hyemale tempus vale* (cf. *Vollmöllers Jahresbericht*, Vol. III [1895], p. 9). I have been as yet unable to verify the latter statement.

² Cf. De Gruyter *Das deutsche Tagelied* (1887), pp. 127 ff.; Schlager, *Studien über das Tagelied* (1895); R. M. Meyer posits a double basis for the *tagelied*, clerical and popular, without assigning priority to either, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XLIX (1907), p. 386.

³ Cf. Julian Schmidt, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XII, pp. 333 ff.; Laistner, *Germania*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 415 ff.; Ebert, *Gesch. d. Lit. d. Mittelalters im Abendlande*, Vol. III, pp. 182 f.; Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 181; Rajna, *Studi di filologia romanza*, Vol. II, p. 97; Monaci, *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Cl. di scienze*, 5th ser., Vol. I, pp. 475, 785; *Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil.*, Vol. IX, p. 407; Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 73.

While Phoebus' clear radiance is not yet arisen,
 The dawn brings soft light to the lands;
 The watchman calls to the slothful: Awake!
 Day is approaching across the moist sea;
 As it is lifted higher and draws near,
 Straightway the shadows flee.¹

Lo, the legions of the enemy burn
 To overtake the unwary and the slumbering!
 The herald warns them and bids them arise!
 Day is approaching, etc.

From Arcturus departs the north-wind,
 The stars of the sky hide their radiance,
 The great bear stretches toward the east.
 Day is approaching, etc.

Whatever this very song may be, it still shows the existence at about the year 900 of what we should otherwise not know to exist for another century or two: popular songs having to do with the waking of lovers from their slumbering danger.

And still, but for the exigency of our space, we are not nearly through with the listing of profane Latin lyrical remnants which attest the presence before the twelfth century of musical and tender poems and songs in France and Germany. But I may now perhaps believe my purpose fulfilled and leave further discussion on this point to another opportunity,² except for one poem.

¹The Provençal refrain is

L'alba part umet mar atras;
 Sol poi i pas,
 Ab egal n'irant las tenebras;

or, as Jeanroy suggests,

L'alba par umet mar atra sol
 Poy pas abigil miraclar tenebras.

Monaci believes the refrain not Provençal but Ladin, and the poem composed in Upper Tyrol.

²I would again refer the reader to the article on the origins of *minnesang*, which contains many hints I have not repeated. At the end of the first millennium of our era we meet with a Latin poetry that answers adequately every need of story-telling and narrative, jest and farce, anecdote and fairy-tale, animal fable, political satire and ironic depiction, heroic legend and hagiography. The mere citation of such titles as the *Lombard Minstrel*, the *Minstrel's Reward*, the *Daughter of Desiderius*, *Adalgis*, the *Iron Charles*, recalls to us historical songs of presumably high merit; and such remembered poems as *Modus florum*, *Modus Liebinc*, *Lantfrid et Cobbo*, *Alfrad*, *Heriger*, the *Daughter of Proterius*, *Unibos*, etc., sufficiently inform us that Scherer and Kögel are right in demanding for this time a high development in poetical ability. I would by no means reason that these were in any narrow sense based upon lyric song—for they are without exception ballads, satirical narratives, and jesting tales. But I would return to the query of Mällenhoff printed above and ask: If we

A last contribution from our stock will be the song to a runaway boy by a tenth-century Veronese schoolmaster. I wish to present an English rendering of it—based upon the restoration of Traube¹—because such a one has not yet been published, so far as I know, and there are certain difficulties in translation. It is the first mediaeval example of any worth of the pederastic verse so popular in the Middle Ages:

O admirable image of Venus,²
Whose body is all without blemish,
That god protect thee, who stars and sky
Created, who founded sea and earth.
Not through the wile of the thief³ shalt thou suffer treachery;
May Clotho love thee, who spins out the thread.

Preserve the boy, I pray not in jest
To Lachesis, but with my whole heart,
To the sister of Atropos, lest she abandon thee.
May'st thou have as guides Neptune and Thetis

have examples galore of such art, how then should wide expression for the mightiest and most poetic impulse of all—the erotic lyric—have failed?

And before we close our search for idyllic and tender passages of a lyric sort we must needs hunt through the *Ruodlieb*, the *Waltharilied*, and longer narrative poems, to excerpt here and there verses that answer our every purpose in this matter. Besides which, sacred poetry and hymns would be made to yield their quota, for the most superficial search among the many volumes of the *Analecta hymnica* reveals how rich and suggestive some of this material is in the light that it throws by analogy, and at times directly, upon the profane Latin lyric.

¹Cf. *O Roma nobilis* (1891), p. 11. This poem is introduced because it marks a distinctive type and will be referred to in a succeeding chapter. There are two methods employed by investigators of the mediaeval Latin poetry that offends modern convention. One is that of Wattenbach, which publishes everything it discovers to be of value; the other is that of Hauréau, which balks at making known uncomfortable material. Of the two methods the former is alone tenable if research is to be helpfully carried on.

²O admirabile Veneris idolum,
Cujus materiae nihil est frivolum,
Archos te protegat, qui stellas et polum
Fecit et maria condidit et solum.
Furis ingenio non sentias dolum;
Clotho te diligat, quae bajulat colum.

Salvato puerum non per hypothesim:
Sed firmo pectore deprecor Lachesim,
Sororem Atropos, ne curet haeresim.
Neptunum comitem habebas et Thetim,
Cum vectus fueris per flumen Athesim
Quo fugis amabo, cum te dilexerim?
Miser quid faciam, cum te non viderim?

Dura materies ex matris ossibus
Creavit homines jactis lapidibus.
Ex quibus unus est i-te puerulus,
Qui lacrimabiles non curat gemitus.
Cum tristis fuero, gaudebit aemulus:
Ut cerva rugio, cum fugit hinnulus.

³I. e., Death.

When thou farest across the river Adige.
 Why dost thou flee, pray, when I love thee?
 Unhappy, what shall I do, when I see thee not?

Hard material from the mother's bones
 Created men, when the stones were thrown.¹
 And from one of those stones must that boy spring
 Who is not troubled by tearful complainings.
 When I am sad my rival will rejoice.
 I cry out like the hind whose young flee from her.

THE MINSTREL AND THE LYRICAL BALLAD

The tedium of the preceding chapter may now be justified, for it has yielded us at least four distinct categories of Latin lyrical poetry before the twelfth century.

1. *Antique meters* definitely modeled on classical Latin forms. Such is a large part of the material which Dümmler, Traube, and Winterfeld have presented to us in the *Poetae aevi Karolini*. These meters continued from the time of the Carolingian revival down through the thirteenth century and frequently as they violate prosodic rules, much as they introduce themes foreign to classical traditions, their original source is evident: the poets of the Augustan age and of Silver Latinity. These lines often remind more of Strawberry Hill than they do of Rome—*leonini*, *caudati*, *unisoni*—but they come to express with strange adequacy many sides of the mediaeval spirit: joyous and tearful, cynical and maudlin. The archpoet begs for dinner and a coat in hexameters, and Hugo of Orleans turns them to his hand in the trilogy that depicts the faithlessness of the courtesan Flora.²

2. *Liturgical poems* invented for the service of the church. These rhyming structures were "voluminous systems of recurrent double rhymes, intricate rhythms molded upon tunes for chanting, solid melodic fabrics."³ Dreves has made this material conveniently accessible in many of the volumes of the *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. Such poems were soon adapted to profaner use by minstrel and goliard and a surprising lightness sometimes characterizes

¹ Refers to the Greek deluge-legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha.

² Cf. *Oxford Gedichte des Primas*, Nos. vi, vii, viii.

³ Cf. Symonds, *Wine, Women, and Song* (1884), p. 18; Saintsbury, *The Flourishing of Romance* (1897), p. 6.

jocose narrative ballads and spirited lyrics which are evidently clothed in this originally ecclesiastical form. But, after all, satire and parody were the chief gainers thereby. The rather ponderous movement of these church rhythms lent effectiveness and weight to the former, and inimitable background to the latter.

3. *Lyric survivals*.—Occasionally songs “whispering of pagan gods in exile, encouraging men to accept their life with genial enjoyment” meet our gaze during the early mediaeval period. Such verse are the *Jam, dulcis amica, venito* and the *O admirabile Veneris idolum*: these are the vicarious offspring of individual learning, bear on them frequently the hallmark of no particular age,¹ and have no breath of popular poetry within them. We are not surprised to find them in Octavian’s *anthologia Latina* or among the Cambridge songs—pieces of similiar import and like beauty must have been contemporary with the *pervigilium Veneris* and must have continued the classical tradition down into the fifteenth century. This tradition was tenacious of life and presumably never quite interrupted in any century, particularly in Italy, for Rome continued to be felt the head of the world (*caput mundi*)² throughout the Middle Ages. A curious illustration of how widespread the remains of ancient knowledge were occurs in a poem of the popular sort sung on the walls of Modena in the first half of the ninth century by the soldiers of the watch:

O tu, qui servas armis ista moenia,
Noli dormire, moneo, sed vigila:
Dum Haector vigil extitit in Troja,
Non eam cepit fraudulenta Gretia.
Prima quiete dormiente Troja
Laxavit Synon fallax claustra perfida. . . .

¹ It is interesting in such connection to follow the discussion of the dates of *Lydia bella* and *O admirabile* from the year 1829, when Naeke first discovered the former, to 1891, when Traube with seeming finality settled the age of the latter. Niebuhr, Gregorovius, Ozanam, Daniel, Riese, Baini, and Brambach arrived at widely diversified conclusions because of the apparent absence in this poem of any specific allusion. Cf. Traube, *O Roma nobilis* (1891), pp. 3 ff.

² Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*; Graf, *Roma nella memoria del medio evo* (1882); Traube, *O Roma nobilis*; Salvioli, *L'istruzione pubblica in Italia nei secoli viii, ix e x* (1879); Dresdner, *Kultur- und Sittengeschichte der italienischen Geistlichkeit im x. und xi. Jahrhundert* (1890), etc.

4. *Popularizing Latin lyrics*.—We have already noted how an eighth century minstrel sang his mocking rhyme;

Nû habêt Uodalrîh
firloran êrôno gilîh,
ôstar enti uuestar,
sîd irstarp sîn suester.

This tells us again what we already know so well from a multiplicity of records:¹ that jesters and minstrels were making verses for the willing ears of courtiers and churchmen like Angilbert at the very moment that serious-minded churchmen and school-poets were engaged in polishing their hexameters. Such testimony, together with stray *kommerslieder* and ballads from ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, should suffice to inform us that at this season the buds of earthly lyric were bursting into bloom; inform us that the tenth century was not exactly "the age of gloom, the age of iron, the age of lead," when the human intellect in Europe reached its nadir.² This time did open inauspiciously with great political disturbances and social readjustments; it ended in a sort of general panic because all the pursuits of life were stopped in apprehension of the judgment day. But we may no more read of this in our lyric records than we may suspect the cataclysm of the western empire from the gentle euphuism of Sidonius,³ whose great complaint was that he "could not achieve six-foot lines when seven-foot barbarians were about him."

But there is another sort of popularizing Latin lyric suggested by the *Hyemale tempus vale* and the *Equitabat Bovo per silvam frondosam*: simplest songs of spring and dancing, maying and mating couplets. By no known process of alchemy can we distil these from any of the first three categories of Latin lyric above mentioned; their source is in *volkslied* quatrains, such as have been proved to exist long before earliest *minnesang*.⁴ German dance-songs and choral singing must have ever existed in connec-

¹ Cf. the collocation in Reich, *Der Mimus*, Vol. I (1903). Pt. 2, pp. 743 ff.

² *Saeculum ferreum, plumbeum, obscurum*: Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (1903), p. 483.

³ Cf. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Christian Empire* (1899) ², p. 190.

⁴ Cf. R. M. Meyer, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 174 ff.

tion with the games and festivals of May.¹ Examples of such songs we find in the *Carmina burana*:

Swaz hie gat umbe
Daz sint allez megede,
Die wellent an man
Alle disen sumer gan. no. 129a;

Springewir den reigen
Nu, vrowe min,
Vröun uns gegen den meigen,
Uns chumet sin schin. no. 100a;

Chume, chume geselle min,
Ich enbite harte din,
Suzer roservarwer munt,
Chum un mache mich gesunt. no. 136a.

And such traditional verses now and then shine through the Latin lyrics which we find in the same collection:

Et sub tilia
Ad choreas venereas
Salit mater, inter eas
Sua filia. no. 114;

Late pandit tilia
Frondes, ramos, folia,
Thymus est sub ea
Viridi cum gramine,
In quo fit chorea. no. 108;

Stetit puella rufa tunica;
Siquis eam tetigit,
Tunica crepuit. Eia! no. 138;

Veni, veni, venias,
Ne me mori facias;
Hyrca, hyrce, nazaza,
Trillirivos! no. 136.

Crepuscular stirrings are these songs of Latin lyrics and love-ballads which were in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to

¹ It is in these May fêtes that Gaston Paris would have us seek the origin of much of mediaeval lyric poetry; *Journal des Savants* (1892), p. 427. This theory is partially developed in Cesareo, *Le origini della poesia lirica in Italia* (1899), and given full credence by Santangelo (*op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff.) after a careful examination of the spring songs of the *Carmina burana*. But surely we do not need to connect these festivals with those of pagan antiquity held in honor of Venus, as Santangelo suggests our doing.

X | develop a hardier and more complex growth. The minstrel, as early as the eleventh century, and probably long before that, had gone for some of his most effective material where Goethe and the Romanticists went in a later age, to the inexhaustible well of popular song, there to draw new lyrics of his own. When and where this folkpoetry became first *courfâhig* we do not know. The character of the audience the minstrel sang his songs to can only be surmised; like the peasant verses of Neidhart, they may have joyed the lowest or the highest in rank, and it is not yet safe to more than hazard a guess. But one thing is sure: side by side with antique meters and liturgical poems, in no sense derived from these or from certain other lyrical pieces which continued classical lyric traditions, there was for long before the twelfth century a popularizing and lyric Latin *spielmannspoesie* which mirrored the simpler sort of German popular poetry and derived much of its strength and beauty from it.

And because of this long preamble we may now proceed with an easier conscience—if not with a lighter heart—to the second part of our study. This will attempt a differentiation between, on the one hand, highly artificial and, as it were, professional goliard songs and, on the other hand, real Latin *minnesang*.

It may be that some, even much, of the foregoing article might have been omitted on the assumption that it repeated certain things already sufficiently known. But where the material is so vast as that of early mediaeval Latin poetry, where doctors (of philosophy) so carefully disagree as to all the main symptoms of it, where the vehicle in which many of the songs are written still unhappily remains so difficult a thing for us to read; I have been afraid not to go deeper into the foundations than I should have otherwise thought of doing. It is just because "erudition" has hitherto played so large a part in the criticism of mediaeval songs, because the layman has not more easily commanded them, that misunderstandings regarding their nature and their scope have been so long current.

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MEDIAEVAL LATIN LYRICS

PART II

SPIRIT AND FORM

A fundamental principle which underlies my treatment of mediaeval Latin poetry is that the material should be divided and classified according to the spirit of its content and not according to the manner of its external form. I have been so constantly occupied with this idea that I failed to notice, until my attention was recently directed to the omission by Mr. E. K. Rand, that nowhere have I characterized sharply the current practice which makes the whole corpus of mediaeval Latin lyrics owe its very existence to a progressive amplification of rhythms evolved in connection with ninth- and tenth-century sequences. I hasten to correct this fault and for the sake of convenience begin with two sentences of Wilhelm Meyer's coining which bid fair to carry desolation in their wake:

In Deutschland wie in Frankreich entwickelte zuerst die durch die Sequenzendichtung veranlasste lyrische Dichtung in lateinischer Sprache sich zu bedeutender Blüte, dann erst begann die Dichtung in französischer und in deutscher Sprache sich ähnlicher Formen zu bedienen. Gaston Paris nennt diese Herrschaft der lateinischen Dichtung 'funeste;' allein wer kann sagen, ob und wie die französische oder die deutsche Dichtung sich entwickelt hätten, wenn sie das lateinische Vorbild nicht gehabt hätten?¹

I shall not occupy myself with the question, *how* mediaeval vernacular poetry would have developed if it had not possessed the Latin model. For it did have this model, it did use it, and no finite mind may determine just what would have happened if the opposite had been true. The other query, *would* mediaeval vernacular poetry have developed if the Latin model had not preceded it, seems to me equally futile. I will say, however, that it is an egregious claim to make, even by implication, for Latin

¹ Cf. *Fragmenta burana*, p. 183.

poetry that except for it French and German lyric expression would have come to a standstill.

But a phrase in Meyer's first sentence not only merits, it demands investigation: "lyric poetry in Latin caused by the writing of sequences." This is no chance remark of Meyer's torn from its context for convenient dissection. The statement is made at the close of his well-known article on the rise of mediaeval poetry which accompanies the *Fragmenta burana*.¹ Herein he has portrayed for us the transition from old poetry to new: he tells us the worn story of how about the year 860 a monk came from Jumièges to St. Gall with an antiphonary; how his German brethren thus learned to substitute for the vowel *a* in the alleluia-melodies independent texts; how Notker outstripped all other men in the writing of beautiful sequences; how such creations became popular and strongly developed the personality of poets, giving to their work a new content; lastly, how the composition of sequences freed popular poetry from the classical straitjacket and the sorry rhythmic dress of the Carolingian age, led it back to the well-spring of all poetic beauty, to music, and thus made possible an unhampered and natural evolution of mediaeval poetry *ab ovo*, not Latin poetry alone, but French and German poetry as well.

Winterfeld believed that Meyer inverted the picture; that the sequence did not make use of secular materials, but that the secular poet, with sure instinct for what was lifegiving and enduring in conventional poetry, took possession of the sequence-forms which the church poets had created.² I believe this, and I am likewise sure that sequences did not bring about lyric poetry, but that lyric poets developed the sequence. This is, as Winterfeld suggests, no mere battle of words: it concerns vitally our entire conception of the coming-to-be of mediaeval vernacular poetry.

Meyer's contention is that the sequence, a purely practical device which substituted separate syllables for a single vowel, was the bio-germ of mediaeval lyric efflorescence: "plötzlich hörte

¹ "Wie entstand die Blüte der mittelalterlichen Dichtungsformen," *Fragmenta burana*, pp. 166 ff. Cf. also the other two studies on Latin rhythmic poetry, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. I, pp. 136 ff., Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

² *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV, p. 73.

man statt 100 'la' einen schönen Lobgesang." Even if we wish to accept this view, that from a mnemonic system of notation there sprang the beauty of European lyric verse, we can certainly not believe this evolution a mechanical one; the miracle was effected by the genial efforts of a multitude of poets. And their personality was not developed by the sequence, as Meyer says, but their personality gave the sequence-form its material power, its life. And the sequence did not give the work of poets new content, as Meyer says, but the labor of these poets furnished the sequence with themes, motifs, and new content of every sort. For the *form* of poetry does not create the *spirit* of it; the letter of a poem does not beget the meaning of it.

At the risk of seeming trite, I must continue for a moment to say perfectly obvious things. It has been an undesirable result of certain investigations into mediaeval meters and rhythms that we have come to regard the outer garment of a Latin poem as its chief distinguishing factor. We realize that we should not do this, but we do it just the same. It is no accident of exterior garb which makes or unmakes for us the poems of Dante, Shakespeare or Goethe; not *terza rima*, blank verse, or *knüttelvers*, but the spirit and content of their thought. Why should it be different with the Latin poets of the Middle Ages?

This does not mean, of course, that it is not important for us to miss no word of the penetrating studies in which Wilhelm Meyer seeks and masters the secret of many mediaeval Latin poetic forms; he teaches us rightly that here and not "with Bartsch in the forests of the old Celts and Germans" are we to find certain of the formulae which Provençal, French, and German epic and lyric used at a later time, less widely, and with less artistic effectiveness.¹ How these forms grew in complexity and effectiveness Meyer shows us, until all the varied store was there which the mediaeval Latin lyric used, oftentimes with such seeming ease.

But never once was it the *form* of Latin rhythmic diction which was responsible for the full sheaves of story, drama, or lyric. It was the German spirit of artists like Notker and Ros-

¹ Cf. *Fragmenta burana*, p. 170.

witha and Ekkehard and the author of *Ruodlieb* which dominated the imperfect Latin diction of their age and created a renaissance despite it, just as surely as it was a similar German spirit two centuries later that made use of a wealth of musical rhythms to set its sentimental lyric singing in, or to set into its dramas.

Throughout the foregoing study I have done what I could to separate different types of song. This can be done but rarely, and then with much hazard, from the standpoint of external form. If we judge by form alone, many of the examples I have already had occasion to cite, would be demonstrably of learned and clerical origin. For music and culture and the ability to find expression for mother-wit in poetic speech were for centuries *so far as we know* indissolubly connected with the cloister and the school, and without these institutions none knows what rhythms we might have possessed. It is Wilhelm Meyer's question over again: What would have happened, if things had happened differently?

As an illustration let us take the *Levis exsurgit zephyrus* quoted in full above. The spirit of this poem is "popular," by which I mean at this point unlearned, not resting upon classical or clerical tradition, the picture of real experience, told in terms of such simple nature-parallelism as folk-song uses. But how about the form of it? Did the author invent the meter, or did it derive directly from a church hymn? Presumably the latter, I should say. But even then we are little wiser than before. We do not know that cloister music did not as frequently refresh itself at the fountain-head of popular melody (*volksweise*)¹ as cloister poetry found similar renewal in popular poetry. We only know that such music has not descended to us from a certain time except in clerical redaction. Again, cloister music might well have made

¹ Church hymns and pious songs have been set to the music and the meters of profane and popular poetry ever since St. Jerome lived at Bethlehem, at least. From that day to this we have hundreds of recorded instances in which a popular metrical form or a secular tune has furnished the model for ecclesiastical song. Almost every renaissance of clerical poetry has derived a notable part of its inspiration and its strength from secular music. When we know that *My Jesus, as Thou wilt* is sung to the aria from *Der Freischütz*, or that *Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah* is fitted to the waltz-song from *Martha*, and remember that such has been the case among different peoples at many various times, why should we believe otherwise regarding tenth-century melodies? I do not think a bibliography at this juncture designed to show the occasional priority of popular musical forms would have any particular point as it would necessarily concern itself chiefly with other periods than the one we are considering and could therefore prove nothing circumstantially.

popular texts too difficult for general singing, just as music of a more popular sort has often given wide currency to a text which otherwise would have found small acceptance. Music has ever acted either as hindrance or solvent. Again, if we eliminate from this minstrel's song the unknown element of music, and deal with the cadence of the lines themselves, we are not sure how these should be enunciated. My own guess would be a measure of four stresses, not unlike that which Hildebrand so conveniently discovered could be imposed on most Germanic lyric verses. But this is a guess, and those may arise who find in this simple song deliberate if unsuccessful trial of quantitative stanzas.

As a matter of fact, who "invents" meters? Many poets first and last, no doubt, just as many composers invent musical settings for moods and words. But in the case of any one humble poet it is difficult to decide what is the source of a particular rhythmic expression; and the last to know the truth would often be the poet himself. Even if the *Levis exsurgit* be identical in structure with a hundred hymns of the time, we should not need to believe it secondary or imitative. We could not rightly say that "the church hymn had at the close of the tenth century won over profane song." We could merely state that certain rhythms of unknown origin were considered during this age so attractive and adequate that they clothed themes of both sacred and secular intent. Simple rhythms of whatever origin must be possessed of dormant popularity; if we learn through MSS that they were widely disseminated, then we know this popularity was actually achieved; otherwise, because of the lack of ocular evidence, we are forced to suspend judgment.

I wonder if it will be felt that the further classification of the mediaeval Latin lyric which I attempt in the following pages is vexatious. Such febrile insistence is sometimes made on apparently unessential facts that the lay-reader cannot be blamed for his suspicion that microscopic analysis of literary forms is altogether unnecessary. Were Lowell alive today he might well write an essay for which the world is waiting: "On a certain habit of hair-splitting prevalent in higher schools."

Still, difficult as it is to be sane and moderate in one's classifi-

cation, it is many times as hard not to classify. Skeptical though I am of the justice of many, nay, of most, of Jeanroy's divisions of the mediaeval French lyric,¹ it is by reason of them and of the appreciative comment necessary to uphold them that we have the best book yet written on an important subject. On the other hand, Ronca's essay on the mediaeval Latin lyric,² equipped though it is with all the apparatus of scholarship, miscarries just because it fails to distinguish clearly the various kinds of poetry he is treating.

This I must pause to prove, not only because Ronca's work has gained among students a high and not undeserved reputation, but because I can thus justify the divisions set forth in the following pages. After much investigation of Ronca's statements I believe it is fair to say that every generalization he makes regarding the mediaeval Latin lyric is blurred, since it is inapplicable to a part of the material he is considering. In his zeal to establish the fact that goliardic verse existed long before the twelfth century he sets aside the differences which mark off school-poems, songs of the wandering students, and popular balladry in Latin garb, and heaps them all together in a single hill. Thus in one place³ we find the following odd assemblage of verses grouped as "*canzoni amorose*": *O admirabile Veneris idolum, Jam dulcis amica venito*, the one hundred and fifty leonine distichs from Ivrea, the Latin *alba* with Provençal refrain, the three rather stupid metrical poems published by Hagen, no one of which by any possible twist of the fancy may be denominated a song.⁴ The first four of these poems I have

¹ As a pendant to this study I have already announced the essay on the Merovingian mime. The materials for this are now in hand, but their publication must await the appearance of Mr. Manly's third volume of the *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearian Drama*; for my whole idea of early minstrelsy is so colored by the basic view I have learned from him that without it my projected study would be lean indeed.

The sequel to the present study, however, will be a chapter on the mediaeval French lyric; and I shall not be deterred from writing this because of the prevalent notion that Jeanroy's *Origines* is definitive for this field. Jeanroy's statement of facts is not consonant with the situation as I am compelled to see it, and certain problems which are to me inevitable he frankly avoids. I wish to invade the domain of French lyric, foreign though it is to the conventional routine of my academic labor, in order further to prepare the groundwork for a volume on the history of the mediaeval lyric in Europe.

² "Principali elementi e caratteri della cultura e poesia latina del medio evo" (pp. 25-202 of Ronca's *Cultura medievale e poesia latina in Italia nei secoli xi e xii*).

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 159, 160.

⁴ Cf. Hagen, *Carmina medii aevi*, pp. 190, 194, 206. Not the content alone, but the spirit of the content, determines the lyricality of a poem. Ronca would doubtless group with the

treated elsewhere and may besides assume to be familiar to the reader. But the three from Hagen require a passing glance, that we may realize how unlyric their spirit is.

The first, which Ronca terms "a love-poem of the tenth century"¹ is entitled *Versus ad juvenem et puellam affectuosius se invicem intuentes*, and is couched in elegiac distichs. It begins:

Occurrunt blando sibi lumina vestra favore
Et voto arrident intima corda pari.
Alternò facies sibi dant responsa rubore
Et tener affectum prodit utrimque pudor.

Where this prosaic thing originated, it is impossible to say, but the type is clear: it belongs to the endless array of practice-exercises that we meet with in the *artes dictamini*. The second piece, which Ronca calls "another absolutely obscene poem from the same codex,"² handles an artificial situation of like sort—it is a development of the theme of nun and clerk. Proof that the poem is nothing more than a dull school-task is furnished by the superscription.³

Ronca's third citation, which he says is a "spring-poem before the eleventh century,"¹ is the *De innovatione vernali*. No school subject received more stereotyped treatment than just this one, and a dozen more pleasing examples than this which Ronca summons forth from oblivion might easily be found. I give a number of lines to show how bad it is:

Quicquid hiems tamquam veteri deforme senecta
Absque decore diu fecerat esse suo,
Ver novat atque novo compubescentia flore
Imperat ad teneros cuncta redire dies.
Rupta videbantur antiqui foedera nexus
Convulsusque odiis cedere sanctus amor.
Visa elementorum communio sacra revelli
Et fetus eadem velle orare suos,

drinking-song which deals with the abbot of Angers (cf. Part I, p. 45) the twelve "carmina potatoria" of the tenth century printed in *Poetae latini mediæ ævi*, Vol. IV, pp. 350 ff. (cf. Dümmler, *Neues Archiv*, Vol. X, pp. 347 ff.). But these pieces are inept and stupid in both manner and tone, eleven of them being but short invocations to feast-days and saints' days. They are thoroughly without lyric appeal and therefore beyond the pale of our discussion.

¹ Why, I do not know; the MS in which it is found is Cod. Bern. 568 saec. XII.

² Why, I do not know; the MS in which it is found is Cod. Bern. 434 saec. XV.

³ Above the piece is written: *Quedam monacha nigris vestibus induta diligens quemdam clericum volens quod ageret rem cum ea: at ille nolens se consentire peccato se realiter hiis versibus excusavit.*

In veteremque pari conversa furore tumultum
 Invisam rebus accelerare necem.
 Autumnus senior gelide post credita spectans
 Semina crediderat fenus obisse suum.

I contend that such indiscriminate grouping of Latin verses as we have here found Ronca guilty of is not helpful. Nowhere in his long essay does Ronca trouble to separate the jewels of poetry from the ashes and cinders which hide them. Like Hubatsch he becomes involved in frequent contradiction because of failure to establish classes. We shall meet a like fate, unless what follows convinces the reader that to apprehend the real nature of Latin song in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries he must recognize at least three types: (1) *nugae amatoriae*; (2) *goliard lyrics*; (3) *popularizing lyrics*.

NUGAE AMATORIAE

If the light and popular ballads of love and springtime which we are now to examine owe their origin to scholastic and churchly tradition, then they were born in France. For in no other land of mediaeval Europe do we find this tradition by half so brilliant and strong. At no time during the ninth and tenth centuries was the culture inaugurated by Charles the Great entirely wanting—here and there in Germany and France we find isolated instances of its survival. But still these centuries were largely a period of social disorganization unfavorable to consistent poetic effort,¹ and the new humanism of the twelfth century does not derive its impulse directly from them. It is rather coeval with the sudden rise of the schools and of scientific studies which is so marked a characteristic of the latter half of the eleventh century in France. We read the truth of this somewhat in Latin poetry.²

¹ Cf. Maitre, *Les écoles épiscopales et monastiques* (1866), p. 96; Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* (1867), Vol. III, p. 329; Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great* (1877), pp. 137 et al.; *History of the University of Cambridge* (1873), Vol. I, pp. 45 f.; Bartoli, *I precursori del rinascimento* (1877), p. 18; Newman's essays "The Reformation of the Eleventh Century" (*British Critic* [1841], April), and "The Benedictine Centuries" (*The Atlantis* [1859], January); Giesebrecht, *Geschichte d. deut. Kaiserzeit*, Vol. I (1881)⁵, p. 329; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, Vol. I (1904)⁷, pp. 350 ff.; Sandys, *op. cit.*, chaps. xxv and xxvi.

² If we consider the poems, say, of Abbo of St. Germain (d. 923), Walafrid Strabo (d. 849), Eugenius Vulgarius (ca. 928), Notker the Stammerer (d. 911), Froumund of Tegernsee (ca. 1013), Wipo (d. 1051), Hermann Contractus (d. 1054), Ekkehard IV (d. ca. 1060), we find that they are filled with far-fetched figures and tropes, with words that must have been intelligible to only a highly cultured audience; at every turn they show a slavish imitation of

A double reason accounts for the lack of clarity and naturalness in the earlier mediaeval Latin school-poems. First, there would be at any time before the wider dissemination of education but few men who could attain the stylistic ease of Gerbert of Rheims and Lambert of Hersfeld, to say nothing of the mastery of John of Salisbury and Abelard.¹ Secondly, in the ninth and tenth centuries, as in the sixth, there was an attempt to achieve a *dolce stil nuovo*; simplicity and correctness were taboo, bombast and abnormality were striven for.² In a phrase, we discover a wordy rhetoric where we had hoped for poetry.³

classical form and diction, or a blind adherence to other clerical models. Now it is true that a German spirit, a sort of inner warmth, occasionally glimmers in the Latin verses of Wipo and Hermann (cf. Dämmler "Opusculum Herimanni diverso metro compositum," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XIII, p. 433); true that Ekkehard IV's attractive *Casus S. Galli* has thrown such a charm about the life of an early mediaeval monastery that scholars have vied with one another in portraying in living colors the inmates as gifted poets and musicians *sine pari* (Schubinger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens* [1853], Winterfeld, *Ilbergs neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. V, pp. 350 ff., likewise "Rhythmen- u. Sequenzenstudien" in *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Gautier, *La poésie liturgique*, etc., etc.). True, of course, above all that the poet of *Waltharius* often discovers the popular German vein, that his namesake knows the *volkslied* sung in the streets, the proverbs that fall from the lips of the laity (cf. Dämmler, "Ekkehard IV von St. Gallen," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 8, 9). It is true that Froumund, although not the author of the *Ruodlieb*, and often limping and obscure (Seiler, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XIV, p. 405) is yet on occasion tender, humorous, and possessed of an effective native coarseness (Kempf, *Froumund von Tegernsee* [1900], p. 67). And so one might go down the roll, remembering Walafrid and Roswitha, Thietmar and Notker — Notker, who, whether author of the tales of the Monk of St. Gall and all that Winterfeld "instinctively" assigns to him, or not (Wattenbach, *Geschichtsschreiber d. deut. Vorzeit*, Vol. XXVI [1890]3, Kögel, *Litteraturgesch.*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 221, Baldauf, *Der Mönch von St. Gallen* [1903], Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, p. 11, *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV, p. 73) is the unforgettable creator of the sequence, the poet who learned of the lowly minstrel as well as of the MSS of the cloister-school. But, important as all this and all like this is for the story of German life and literature, the form of these Latin school-poems is apt to be crude, unbending, artificial, they are the outcome of toil and not talent, they are so colorless and general (with but few exceptions) as to speak of no particular time or place, often they are so tortuous that we may not even guess as to their intent.

¹ Cf. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (1898), Vol. II, pp. 707, 750 ff.; Deutsch, *Peter Abälard* (1883), pp. 62 f.; Sandys, *op. cit.*, pp. 489, 498, 509, 517.

² Cf. Gautier, *La poésie religieuse dans les cloîtres des ix-xi siècles* (1887), pp. 33 ff.; Dreyes, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. VII (1889), pp. 10 ff.; Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques*, pp. 238 ff. Norden (*op. cit.*, p. 754) does not spare the so-called tropes and prosae of the tenth and eleventh centuries when he says: "They belong to the most hair-raising productions ever composed in the Latin language; fustian and eccentricity celebrate their bacchanalian orgies. The one thing comparable to them are the *Hesperica famina*." Cf. Zimmer, *Nennius vindicatus* (1893), pp. 291 ff.; and on the general matter of cryptic Latin expression, Giesebrecht, *De litterarum studiis apud Italos* (1845), pp. 22 f.; Goetz, "Über Dunkel- und Geheimsprachen," *Sitzungsber. d. sachs. Gesellschaft* (1896), pp. 62 ff. For a convenient survey of Latin literature in the tenth and eleventh centuries cf. Sandys, *op. cit.*, chaps. xxvi, xxvii.

³ Ecclesiastics and schoolmen had, of course, no such conception of the mission of poetry as prevailed in a later age. Verses and letters were written to gain fluency of expression in the Latin tongue, to inculcate grammatical principles, to acquire an epistolary

But when the new time appears a comparative freedom of movement is manifest. An awakened consciousness expresses itself in verse which speaks of the world about it; the poet has ceased in some measure to be the artisan, he is more the artist. He is concerned with the portrayal of personal thought and experience, his literary traditions are those of his own day, the content of his work is warmer and more subjective, the pressure of the age molds his material into new forms. An individuality confronts us, and not a monk.¹

And so it is that we now meet with a more iridescent poetic language; one that is still at times forced or even vitiated, but yet succinct and striking, one that is by turn solemn and passionate, simple and wanton, joyous and abandoned.² Poets begin to believe

style, etc. The so-called *dictamina* were decked out with every sort of pompous quirk and flourish (cf. Zarncke, *Sitzungsber. d. sächs. Gesellschaft* [1871], pp. 34 ff.; Wattenbach, *Archiv f. österr. Geschichte*, Vol. XIV, pp. 854 ff.; *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akademie* [1872], pp. 594 ff.; *Berliner Akademie* [1892], pp. 91 ff.; Rockinger, *Quellen u. Erörterungen*, Vol. IX [1863]; Mari, *I trattati medievali di ritmica latina* [1899]; Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 953 ff.). Likewise Latin verse-making either had a purely practical aim or was but a sort of play in academic metrics. Content mattered little, formula was all. A flowery diction was attempted, verses were overloaded with scholastic erudition till they staggered and fell, and even in the slightest structures, such as epitaphs and inscriptions, we constantly meet most unlikely quotations from the *Aeneid*, the *Metamorphoses*, and the *Ars amandi* (Steinmann, *Die tituli und die kirchliche Wandmalerei* [1892]; Dresdner, *Kultur- u. Sittengesch. d. ital. Geistlichkeit*, pp. 202 ff.). Dresdner says: "Despite the constant manufacture of verses these centuries are wretchedly poor in poetry as few others have been." For an outline sketch of transitional Latin poetry cf. Norden, "Die latein. Lit. im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter," *Kultur der Gegenwart*, Part I, division viii (1905), pp. 374-411; Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 323; Wattenbach, *Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Akad.* (1891), p. 97; Langlois, *Notices et extraits*, Vols. XXXIV and XXXV; Mari, *Roman. Forschungen*, Vol. XIII, pp. 883 ff.

¹ Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 323.

² Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, p. 324. Seiler in his review of Voigt's *Kleinere lateinische Denkmäler der Tiersage* (*Anzeiger f. d. Alt.*, Vol. V [1879], p. 102) rightly considers the animal tales and fables of high importance for the history of mediaeval intellectual life. He says: "These poems show the seeds of a thoroughly new spirit. Elsewhere in the twelfth century we find, it is true, enthusiastic religious ardor, the simple and credulous narrative of sacred story, an earnest and punitive morality; but in our poems there is no word of all this. In its place there appears an insistence on the right of subjective appetites and views which is quite unheard of in this time: whatever is pleasing is permitted. An ironic portrayal of self forms the innermost kernel of these verses and despite the rhetorical art and artifice which fills them there sometimes peer forth from such witty and coruscating lines the well-known features of Sir John Falstaff ironed into a smooth but unfelt solemnity. It is the same spirit which breathes yet more boldly and boisterously in the songs of the wandering students." Longer pieces which betray the like penchant for didactic allegory and satire parallel these shorter efforts: cf., for example, the *sermones* of Amarcus (ca. 1046), the *Speculum stultorum* of Nigel Wireker (ca. 1190), and the *Architrenius* of Jean de Hauteville (ca. 1181); Francke, *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, Vol. XI (1890). For Juvenal in the Middle Ages, cf. *Anz. f. Kunde d. d. Vorzeit* (1871), p. 232: *magis credunt Juvenali quam doctrinae prophetali*, the bibliography cited by Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* (1903), pp. 619 f., and Hild, *Bulletin mensuel de la faculté des lettres de Poitiers* (1890 f.).

themselves the favorites of the muses; they are convinced of immortality.¹ Gröber is doubtless right in believing that this enlightenment first came in the northwestern provinces of France—in the ecclesiastical domain of Tours—and spread soon thereafter to Normandy, England, and Germany. The Provençal lyric felt the breath of it, and a quickened pulse beats in the work of French and Anglo-Norman poets like those already mentioned in an earlier chapter on the goliards, like Hugo of Orleans and Baudri of Bourgueil, and others too numerous to mention. Suddenly the almost emptied lists are thronged by a newly marshaled legion of poets whose very number bespeaks strength.²

The transition from such poetry as this to twelfth-century love-songs of MSS like Cambridge and St. Omer, Queen Christine and Benedictbeuern, would now seem easy, in a sense inevitable. The mystery attending on the dawning of Latin *minnesang*, like that of German love-poetry some fifty years later would now appear to be explained away. We have but to wait a little while and this Franco-Latin poetry just described will have crossed the German borders with the student and clerk who is retracing his homeward steps;³ and no German clerk of the day was considered sufficiently cultured without a training at the French schools. We need therefore not be surprised to find this poetry a little later serving the uses of lighter Latin verses which are Teutonic in feeling and in imagery, and even pointing the way to a subsequent body of vernacular verse. And thus we might travel blithely from Abelard's school on Mont Ste. G  nevieve via Bavarian-Latin poets like the authors of certain poems in the *Carmina burana* straight to the lyrics of Walther von der Vogelweide. Why not? Literary history has had to chronicle stranger journeys. And we might nod our heads in sleepy acceptance of this *empfindsame reise* except for one thing:

¹ Peter of Blois is a child of his age when he says: "Nostra etiam scripta quae se diffundunt et publicant circumquaque, nec inundatio, nec incendium, nec ruina, nec multiplex saeculorum excursus poterit abolere."

² Confronted by these facts Gebhart (*Les origines de la renaissance de l'Italie*, 1879) asks plaintively: "Why was Italy and not North France the cradle of the Renaissance?"

³ "Vom Rheine her," said Scherer (*Gesch. d. d. Dichtung*, p. vii), "wirken fr  nz  sische Einfl  sse auf Geistliche, Spielleute und Ritter. Sie dringen langsam die Donau hinunter: zuerst fr  nz  sische Theologie; dann fr  nz  sische Epik; zuletzt fr  nz  sische Lyrik."

When we ask, with Reinmar of Brennenburg: "Wā sint nu alle die von minnen sunge?" the answer is: "So far as we may learn, *no known Latin poet of the twelfth century ever wrote a love-song.*" In this matter Venantius Fortunatus and Alcuin, Walafrid Strabo and Paul the Deacon, Æthelwulf and Theodulus are as much responsible for our Bavarian love-songs written in Latin as are any of the northern French poets who participated in the twelfth-century revival of learning. Let us see.

Adam of St. Victor wrote no profane lyrics; he remained all his life single to the sacred muse. Hildebert of Tours was doubtless the best-known poet of his time, but in all his *carmina miscellanea* there is no erotic lyric verse. He possessed coolness, elegance, and poise. His were a fatal surety of diction and flexibility of form; and yet the best of his odes, like those to the Countess Adèle of Blois and Queen Mathilde, are types of eulogistic writing without the direct and personal plea. They represent but the farthest reach of *stammbuchspoesie*.¹

Then there is the story of how Bernard of Clairvaux was given in his youth to the writing of worldly verses and prankish songs, but we may not read from this that their burden was the passion of love. Berengar who is sponsor for the tale refers to them as "tilts of rhythmic poetry, *tours de force* of malice and raillery."² This is as we should expect.³ Nor should we imagine that the

¹ Cf. Duperron, *De venerabilis Hildeberti vita et scriptis* (1855); de Deservillers, *Hilbert et son temps* (1875); Dieudonné, *Hilbert de Lavardin* (1898); V. LeClerc, *Histoire littéraire*, Vol. XI², pp. 20 ff.; Hauréau, *Les mélanges poétiques d'Hilbert* (1882). Subjective as Hauréau's criticism often is, it is quite as convincing as that of Pascal ("Le miscellaneæ poetice di Ildeberto" (*Poesia latina medievale* [1907], pp. 5-68), who, while he agrees with Colucci (*Un nuovo poema latino dello xi secolo* [1895], pp. 29 f.) that a mediaeval poet should not be censured for occasional lapses from good taste, still adjudges Hilbert no better an artist than Marbod, Gerald of Barri, Matthew of Vendôme, and others.

² Hauréau would reason that such poems were in part at least love-songs (*Poèmes attribués à S. Bernard*, p. iii). He cites the decree forbidding Cistercians to write rhythmic verses: "monachi qui rythmos fecerint ad domos alienas emittantur, non reversuri nisi per capitulum generale," and remarks: "By reading some collection of these verses, as, e. g., that of the monks of Benedictbeuern, one readily understands how it one day became necessary to condemn so great license, after it had been tolerated so long." The facts do not warrant this statement. First, the Benedictine monks composed few, if any, of the songs in their MS; second, how can one argue from Cistercian and Clunian monks in twelfth-century France to Benedictines of thirteenth-century Bavaria, especially when the first term of the comparison is so vague a factor?

³ For many passages in Bernard's letters evidence his aptitude for keen satire, and one at least shows him cognizant of the Goliath songs. Walter Mapes in his *De nugis curialium* speaks of the epistle which says: "Peter Abelard stalks ahead like full-armored Goliath

moduli of Walter of Chatillon "which resounded through all France" were tender love-songs. Again as in the case of Bernard a biographer tells us that Walter "*conposuit cantilenas musicas.*"¹ And Schreiber, following a hint of Giesebrecht's, assigns to him certain of the St. Omer songs because of their correspondence in diction and manner with some passages of Walter's longer and more earnest satirical narratives. But before we agree to this we must remember that in the Middle Ages musical songs were apt to be anything rather than amatory lyrics, that verbal correspondence by no means indicates borrowing from a particular author in a time and in a medium where set phrases necessarily predominate.²

I have chosen the four poets Adam and Hildebert, Bernard and Walter, because they are considered to be the greatest Latin poets of the twelfth century whose names we know. But I have also examined the poetical writings of many others, such as Serlo³

before his squire Arnold of Brescia." Cf. *S. Bernardi opera* (1726), Vol. II, col. 183; Phillips, *Walter Map* (*Wiener Sitzungsber.*, Vol. X [1853], p. 333—reprint, p. 17).

¹ Cf. *supra*, Part I, p. 23, n. 2.

² There is no good reason for assigning all the St. Omer songs (*Archiv. f. Kunde d. d. Vorzeit*, Vol. VII) to a single author, just because some of them are similar in diction. Nor need we believe the learned professor and author of the *Alexandreis* wrote them, even if they do here and there bear a certain likeness of phrasing to the *Confessio Goliae* and to other poems thought by some to be the work of Walter (cf. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. VI [1893], pp. 292 ff.). The St. Omer songs are none of them simple as some of the *Carmina burana* are; one and all they display the culture and taste of school-products. They therefore show in large measure, exactly as we should expect them to, the same technique and in places almost identically the verbiage of the greater narrative and satirical poems of the goliards. It is at first, I admit, confusing to discover so many coincidences of thought and expression among the more artificial verses of mediaeval schoolmen and wandering students. But the commonplaces which Schreiber industriously cites (*Die Vagantenstrophe*, pp. 23 f., 35 f.) are not necessarily proof of identity of authorship, if we recall that in such poetry the canons of scholastic taste produced an astonishing uniformity. Tricks of speech, conventional imagery, a fixed figurative mold, similarity of view-point, tone, and melody, scarcity of adequate metrical models—all these causes induced a monotony of expression that would be inexplicable, but that we know it was the direct outgrowth of school routine and plagiarism. Again and again mediaeval sermons, letters, poems, nay, whole books, have been accredited to one schoolman or another on the basis of style and diction, only to discover at the last that what had seemed to be a safe foundation for such ascription is naught but quicksand. Many a deft line of Hildebert's is in the *Anthologia latina*, many a dramatic sermon which seems to breathe the very life of Paris is the death-mask of Seneca. Why try to specify what all students know? But, on the other hand, why base arguments on this or that supposed passage of Walter when the next moment may show it to be derived from Lucan?

³ Before his conversion Serlo was the author of many licentious verses, some of which are known to us (cf. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. I [1890], pp. 313, 323), but interesting as he is as a commentary on the school life of his day, there is nothing in his metrical verses devoted (cf. *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions*, Vol. XXVIII, Part II, p. 242) to the praise of one maiden and one embrace, or to the tale of how his love prefers one deed to many words, which leads us even dimly to suspect this master of arts of a musical song.

of Wilton, Gerald¹ of Barri, Baudri² of Bourgueil, Peter³ of Blois, Reginald⁴ of Canterbury, Henry⁵ of Huntingdon, and many other poets who have been fabled to write *cantilenae* of the popular and singable sort.⁶ Besides this, I have searched through metrical

¹If Gerald really wrote poetry more lyrical in quality than the *Descriptio cujusdam puellae* (cf. Part I, p. 34, n. 1) or the distichs in which he pleads with Reason to aid him in overcoming his desire for the maiden he surprises at her bath, it is lost to us. This is not likely, for Gerald himself, anticipating the judgment of posterity, collected all his letters, poems, and speeches into one book, not even neglecting to write an autobiography (*Giraldi opera*, ed. Brewer, 1861 f.). No attempt at sincerity characterizes his verses; in epigrammatic measures he toys with any and every theme—whether it be the girl Laetitia or the wrong employment of *utraque*.

²No rhythmic songs ascribed to Baudri are extant, but his epistle to Emma (No. 215) is a new proof of the success with which certain churchmen cultivated Latin poetry toward the end of the twelfth century. It gives us a riant picture of the landscape of Bourgueil:

Attamen iste locus foret olim vatibus aptus,
Dum musae silvas solivagae colerent.
Nam prope prata virent, illimibus humida rivis,
Prataque graminea flore foveant oculos.
Et virides herbas lucus vicinus amoenat,
Quem concors avium garrulitas decorat.
Hic me solatur tantummodo Cambio noster,
Cujus saepe undas intueor vitreas.

Romania, Vol. I (1872), p. 45; Delisle, *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie*, 3^e série, Vol. XXVIII (1871); Pasquier, *Un poète du xii^e siècle* (1878); Wattenbach, *Berliner Akademie* (1891), p. 16.

³So much has been falsely attributed to Peter of Blois that it is not safe often to characterize his writing, but except for a rhythmic conflict between the flesh and the spirit and a few metrical lines on wine and beer we have nothing left of the poems he refers to in his letters. A single excerpt will suffice (*epistola* lxii): "Quod autem amatoria juvenutis et adolescentiae nostrae ludicra postulas ad solatium taediorum, consiliosum non arbitror, cum talia tentationes excitare soleant et fovere. Omissis ergo lascivioribus cantilenis, pauca quae maturiore stylo cecini tibi mitto, si te forte relevent a taedio et aedificent ad salutem." Cf. Du Méril (1847), pp. 151, 201.

⁴Cf. *Neues Archiv*, Vol. XIII (1888); Wright, *Biographia Britannica literaria* (1846), Anglo-Norman Period, p. 78; *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets* (Rolls Series, 1872), Vol. II. p. 262; ten Brink, *Gesch. d. engl. Lit.* (1899)², p. 153. A most charming song is the poem in praise of Reginald's birthplace, Faye-la-Vineuse:

Fagia, si loquerer linguis, et milia nossem
Plectra, prius morerer quam singula scribere possem.
Fagia, dum calidis sol curribus occidet undis
Ceruleae Thetidis, hostes mucrone retundis.
Fagia, donec aper silvas, et flumina piscis,
Et virgulta caper repetent, tu crescere discis.
Fagia, donec apes cithisum, juvenemque puella,
Esuriensque dapes amat, ardes vincere bella.

⁵No amatory verses of Henry's are left us, unless we would call by this name the tender epigrammatic couplets of his younger days like:

Qui tenerorum vulnus amorum non reveretur,
Innumerorum tela dolorum perpetuetur.

Cf. *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, Vol. II, pp. 163 ff.

⁶The light poems of Stephen of Orleans were undoubtedly satirical in strain; cf. *supra*, Part I, p. 23; and Du Méril (1847), p. 151, who gives quotations to prove this point. We need not halt further to extend our list of churchmen who wrote goliardic songs in their unregenerate days, for the tale is ever the same. Odo of Orleans and Godefrid of Rheims were mere *gelegenhedsdichter*; it was satire Pierre of Corbeil composed in his youth; cf. Drevès, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, Vol. XLVII (1894), p. 576; Cherest, *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences de l'Yonne*, Vol. VII (1853), p. 35; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. I, p. 281. The *nugae amatoriae* which Leland ascribes to Joseph of Exeter were doubtless no more lyric than Hildebert's and surely not so graceful.

poems of every kind which might be suspected of containing, or at least suggesting, lyric material: Fulbert of Chartres, Arnulf of Lisieux, Matthew of Vendome, Geoffrey¹ of Vinesauf, Marbod of Rennes, Bernard of Morlaix, etc. Uncharted seas of metrical lines dealing with love and women, the joys of the cup and of gaming, spring landscape and winter sorrow, have also been navigated, for I could not banish the fearful thought that any moment might bring in sight the land where was the sought-for lay of love, even if the poem but dimly shadowed forth the nebulous horizon of it. I shall of course not stop to publish the whole philological log of this journey, for it is only the record of continued disappointment. The colophon of all is: no matter how unsparing the search, there is in the known and unknown Latin school-poems of the twelfth century no simple, rhythmical lay of love.

As to Abelard—I hesitate. His songs in the lighter manner caught, we are told, the ear of the street and the market-place. We have absolutely no proof that they were not written in French instead of Latin, except that a chance utterance of Abelard's informs us that the vernacular jargon was distasteful to him. But suppose that they were in Latin. The statement as to their popularity comes from not unprejudiced sources: either Abelard *loquitur*, and his vanity was not exceeded even by his dialectic dexterity, or it is Heloise that is speaking, with the accustomed ardor of her uniquely passionate temperament. If Heloise is bearing witness of her own personal observation, let us remember that her environment was entirely a clerical and cultured one.² So many students had gathered to listen to her master that Rémusat can soberly claim the pupils of Abelard outnumbered the other citizens of a town. They and their camp-followers and parasites were dominated by the brilliant figure of Abelard, blinded

¹ Whose real name seems to have been the cacophonous "de Cumeselz" (cf. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXXIV, ii, p. 427; Hamilton, *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, Vol. XXVIII (1907), p. 463.

² The story runs that Heloise when standing before the altar at which she took the veil sobbed forth the protest of Lucan's Cornelia (*Pharsalia*, Bk. viii):

o maxime conjux!
O thalamis indigne meis! Cur impia nupsi,
Si miserum factura fui?

Cf. Ronca, *Cultura medievale*, p. 130. Whether we credit this tale or not, it is quite in accord with what we know of the temper of the age.

by his romantic liaison with the mediaeval Hypatia. Very likely they passed his songs from lip to lip like flame. But still there are serious reasons for doubting that these lost *amatoria* would afford us a vision of a new world of erotic lyric singing. For one, I should never seek for them with Ehrenthal among poems like the *Hebet sidus*.¹

Let us pause a moment to visualize the matter. Suppose that Adam of St. Victor *had* been discovered to be the author of profane love-lyrics, what should we know before we had ever seen them? We should know that one so overfond of displaying feats of skill in versification, of prodigally accumulating and curiously interlacing his rhymes, would never overcome himself and appear a Villon, no matter how perfect his mastery of the forms he used. Or tell us that Hildebert is the author of newly discovered rhythmic pieces on the theme of love, and what shall we anticipate? We shall expect again to meet the classical coolness of an elegant didacticism, the euphuistic statement of an Aramis among churchmen, but not a single melting love-lyric from the gentle prelate who has already filed ten thousand verses smooth. Now if one should say that the composer of a letter to Astrolabius, the author of cut-and-dried *planctus* on Old Testament subjects, the writer of ninety hymns and sequences that breathe but the lifeless excogitations of a theological wit—that some love-songs by this man had just been discovered, who would hurry to their perusal? He who had yawned over sacred pieces that are woefully prosaic in conception and imagery,² he who had wondered at the strange contrast such hymns offer to the intense beauty of St. Bernard's? Scarcely.

Three notable Latin poets remain, however: Primate, whom we may now know in part at least as Hugo³ of Orleans, Archpoet, who

¹ *Studien zu den Liedern der Vaganten* (1891), pp. 5 f.

² Wilh. Meyer asserts that Abelard belongs among the most artistic poets of his age, but later on restricts this statement to the forms in which he composed his *planctus* (*Ges. Abhandl.*, Vol. I, pp. 341, 357). Traube likewise speaks of the "formgewandten Abelard" when referring to Dreves' *Hymnarius Paraclitensis* (1891). But it is easy to overestimate the poetic value of the almost numberless additions which twelfth-century churchmen made to hymnals and antiphonaries (cf. Chevalier, *Poésie liturgique* [1893], Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology* [1892]).

³ One cannot read without a thrill Wilhelm Meyer's remarkable study of the Primate, Hugo of Orleans (*Göttinger Nachrichten* [1907], pp. 75-111, 113-75). A new poet and a new

should be a German if only for his *meum est propositum*, and scapegrace English Hilary. But still we cannot speak of a tender love-song. In Primate and Archpoet both we find a satire that burns, a humor that riots, a deftness and verve of narration that brings the scene clearly before us with a few bold strokes. And these are things which pave the way for a certain sort of lyric verse, although they never attain to it unless the superadded touch be given. Where among all the pieces of Goliard and Archipoeta, Primas and Walter of Chatillon, Walter Mapes¹ and Philip of Grève, do we cull out a love-lyric? The most that can be said of such a lyric in connection with these narratives filled with pungent irony, cynicism, and invective, is that they are at times so personal as to be lyric in their general tone, so genial that we would not willingly deny to the age that bore them a softer accompaniment of love-song. And this existed in fact, as we know, but its authors, like those of popular poetry the world over, are unknown to us.

type of poetry is there discovered to us—we could do without this MS of Oxford verses as little as we could surrender the Cambridge songs or the Benedictbeuern pieces. With masterful touch Meyer unrolls before us the picture of Hugo and his environment. A small, ugly figure—he calls himself Zacchaeus—Hugo is the master of a biting wit, a termagant for temper, but sympathetic with distress, an inveterate beggar, grumbler, gambler; versed in all the lore of the schools and yet a genial poet who knows on occasion how to avoid pedantry and to depict living scenes in a fashion remarkably natural, bluff, and popular. Clearness of expression and an abundance of enlivening detail unite to lend many of his verses a unique warmth and strength. A creature of contrasts: master of smooth hexameters and flawless rhythms, author of mordacious and rough verses mixed of French and Latin; now a conscious poet of elegant diction, now spewing forth nastiness that would shame a gamin of the streets—such Wilhelm Meyer shows him to be, with every shading that combined erudition, acumen, and intuition can disclose. Born toward the end of the eleventh century, some sixty years older than the Archpoet, Hugo does not attain the latter's profundity of thought and emotion; a certain splendor and richness of imagery which characterize the archpoet's efforts are lacking in the Frenchman. But on the other hand there is no trace in Hugo of the learned professor and poet, as in Walter of Chatillon; he is simple and humane as none other of his time.

If such a one as this has left us no lyric love-song of tender import, but contents himself where women are concerned with either a satirical bow or with the railing and bawdy utterance of the brothel, should we dim our eyes seeking through all the amatory pieces of school and church in twelfth-century France for anything more than graceful ode, *gelegenheitslied*, or dedicatory distich? It is labor lost to rummage through a haystack for a needle, unless we believe at least a pin will reward our pains.

¹ "If, as is still possible," says Saintsbury (*History of Criticism* [1900], Vol. I, p. 470, note), "and most probably can never be disproved, Walter Map fashioned the perfect Arthur stories by dint of combining the Lancelot-Guinevere romance and the Graal legend, composed the *De nugis* and wrote an appreciable quantity of the goliardic poems, he will run Chaucer hard in all but the claims impossible to his time. But the 'if' is a big if." How large an "if" is made clear by Sandys, who remarks that twelve elegiac Latin verses comprise "almost the only certainly genuine product of Map's muse that has survived;" cf. *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. I (1907), p. 210.

Last not least is Hilary. I find no reason why we should not regard him as the typical *gelegenheitsdichter* of his time in the northern French schools. He was a student of Abelard's, the gift of lyric song as it was understood in his day was strong within him. The phrases of his cult were at his finger-tips. A sense of form rare in the measures of the age characterizes his work, an easy, at times insouciant grace; poetic instinct. He had no aversion to French refrains—Hildebert himself betrays no greater smoothness of rhythm. Until new light is given us we must believe his lines the pattern of the new school-lyric with its Mariolatry made over into *minnedienst*, its conventional rhymed letters to titled blue-stockings,¹ its frank avowal of preferring Ganymede to Hebe. First then let us examine this type of gallant versification, that we may the better appreciate the difference between it and certain ballads of love and springtime found in the *Carmina burana*.

In its inception at least mediaeval Latin school-poetry was satirical rather than lyrical, moralizing rather than descriptive, declamatory and not the expression of individual feeling. Just as it had been the custom in older monastery schools to read long poems treating dully of the viciousness of the world, so at stated intervals when the students of French and English schools assembled for disputation with their teachers we know that poems were presented in which various orders of society and different sects were made to feel the lash of a keen satire. Cynicism soon

¹ Cf. Baudri's epistles to Cecile, Muriel, Agnes, Emma, Beatrix, Constance; Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores coetanei*, Vol. IV (1641), pp. 274 ff.; Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. CLXVI, coll. 1181-1208; Delisle, *Romania*, Vol. I (1872), pp. 42 ff. Certain of the twelfth-century *billets doux*, despite the conventional nature of their content, are well worth remembering. I quote from Hagen (*Carmina medii aevi*, p. 201) the tender note to Juliana, by an unknown author:

Carmina missa gravis mihi sunt fomenta caloris:
Totus in accenso pectore saevit amor.
Nuper erat risus mihi missi carminis actor,
Cum Veneris tardam saepe rogaret opem.
Spernebam Venerem, saevosque Cupidinis arcus,
Non expertus adhuc posse, Cupido, tuum,
Indignata Venus zelo me fixit acuto:
Vulneris impatiens sentio, quid sit amor.
Si medicina queat tantum lenire dolorem,
Sola potes dubiae ferre salutis opem.
Mellea verba tuae, nisi fallant dissona, menti
Languenti medicum te, Juliana, dabis.
Tam dulci pretio tibi me firmabis amicum,
Moribus, aetate, nobilitate parem.
Nos ita consimiles, ut mutuos uniat ignis,
Elige me solum, quae mihi sola places,
Et quia nulla domus nostris conspectibus obstat,
Aspectu recrees lumina nostra tuo.

came to the fore at such occasions as William Fitz-Stephen, for example, informs us:¹

Sunt alii, qui in epigrammatibus rythmis et metris utuntur vetere illa triviali dicacitate, licentia Fescennina socios suppressis nominibus liberius lacerant loedorias jaculantur et scommata, salibus Socraticis sociorum vel forte majorum vitia tangunt vel mordacius dente rodunt Theonino audacibus dithyrambis. Auditores,

multum ridere parati,

Ingeminant tremulos naso crispante cachinnos.

When we remember that even the shorter school-poems were prepared with a view to recitation rather than singing, we find a quick explanation for much of the figurative imagery and scaffolding that the lyric pieces betray. Heaping-up of words, citations of classical analogues by the score, digressive reminiscence of biblical story, far-fetched paronomasia, constant allusion to school-exercises and study—these are the things that find their background in the aula and not in outdoor life.²

The Latin erotic lyric, in so far as it was the product of the schools, did not take its origin from these longer songs of learned and cynical import. But it was at first conditioned by the same custom and environment, it sprang from like authors, it leaned on school tradition.

Hilary was a young Englishman³ who studied with Abelard at

¹ Cf. Wright, *Biographia*, p. 364; Hubatsch, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (1876), Vol. III, p. 1; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XIX, p. 212; Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 275.

² Even the so-called *Comœdiae* were written in distichs and intended for reading or at most for reciting; they are as much book-poetry as the legends of Roswitha and are not to be confused with dramas which were performed, like the Mysteries derived from the liturgy, or, on the other hand, the living and political drama of Antichrist. Cf. Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Literaturgesch. d. Mittelalters* (1890), Vol. I; Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (1893), Vol. I; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage* (1903), Vol. II, pp. 208 ff.

³ Duchesne, who first published one of Hilary's songs (*Abaelardi opera*, ed. Amboesius [1616], p. 243b), does not deal with his nationality. Mabillon thought him English (*Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, Vol. V [1713], p. 315); a view adopted in *Histoire littéraire*, Vol. XII (1763), p. 255. Champollion-Figeac hints that Hilary is French (*Hilarii versus et ludi* [1838], p. vii) and Hubatsch agrees with him (*Lat. Vagantenlieder* [1870], p. 10), adding that the grace and smoothness of the poet's diction would have been remarkable in an Englishman of his day(!). Leyser (*Historia poematum* [1741], p. 416) and Gröber (*Grundriss*, pp. 347, 355 f., 390, 421, 424-26) do not refer to the place of his birth, but Wright (*Biographia*, p. 91) and Schofield (*History of Eng. Lit.*, pp. 66, 67) decide for England. Sandys is non-committal. He says that Hilarius "is supposed to have been an Englishman" (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. I, p. 212).

For English origin speaks the fact that five of Hilary's twelve lyric pieces are addressed to persons of English birth: Eve, Rose, William of Anfonia, and two English boys. Hervey

Paraclet and Quincey. He wrote twelve poems which have come down to us:

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Evae virginis epicedium</i> | 6. <i>Ad Petrum Abelardum</i> |
| 2. <i>Ad sanctimonialem nomine Bonam</i> | 7. <i>Ad puerum Andegavensem</i> |
| 3. <i>Ad sanctimonialem nomine Superbam</i> | 8. <i>Caliastri laudes</i> |
| 4. <i>Forte ad eandem</i> | 9. <i>Ad Guillelmum de Anfontia</i> |
| 5. <i>Ad Roseam</i> | 10. <i>Ad puerum Anglicum</i> |
| | 11. <i>Ad puerum Anglicum</i> |
| | 12. <i>De papa scholastico</i> |

The titles of eight of these suffice to indicate the nature of their contents. No. 1 is a flabby and conventional dirge of forty quatrains uninteresting save for the light it throws upon the character of Hilary's scoffing fellows: Eve dwelt alone with the hermit Hervey, asseverates the poet, yet without sin:

Ibi vixit Eva diu cum Herveo socio.
 Qui hec audis, ad hanc vocem te turbari sencio.
 Fuge, frater, suspicari, nec sit hic suspicio:
 Non in mundo, sed in Christo fuit hec dilectio.

Ille sibi serviebat tanquam sue domine,
 Et vicissim Eva sibi sub ancille nomine.
 Mirus amor viri talis atque talis femine,
 Qui probatus et repertus omni sine crimine!

No. 6 is a prayer to Abelard not to retire to Quincey (10 quatrains with French refrain); No. 8 is a potboiler in praise of the charms and the wines of Chalautre, written presumably in

of the *Evae epicedium* is likewise an English recluse. We know that there were many English novices in France at this time; cf. a letter of Geoffrey of Vendome (*Epistolae*, ed. Sirmondo [1610], p. 228; Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. CLVII) in which he complains that unworthy English clerks have been sent to his monastery. Why deny any of these novices grace and smoothness when they are of the race that is soon to produce the mature work of John of Salisbury, Walter Mapes, and Gerald of Barri? A final reference to the English occurs in a line of the *Depapa scholastico*: "Papam tremit Gallus et Anglicus."

The presence of French refrains in two of Hilary's songs has strengthened the opinion of some as to his French origin, but a moment's reflection shows the untrustworthiness of this prop. Macaronic song was the rule and not the exception in a society composed of members from every race in Europe—besides which, since the Norman conquest French was the birthright or the acquirement of all cultured Englishmen. Who can determine the author of the following song:

Scripsi haec carmina in tabulis.
 Mon ostel est en mi la vile de Paris:
 May y sugge uamore, so wel me is;
 ȝef y dese for love of hire, duel hit ys.

Cf. Wright, *Specimens of Lyric Poetry* (1842), p. 64; ten Brink, *Gesch. d. engl. Lit.* (1899)², Vol. I, p. 354.

payment for food and lodging (9 quatrains); No. 12 is an encomium of the scholastic pope, a figure having to do with one of the scholars' revels. Nos. 7, 9, 10, 11 are odes to boys after the manner of the *O admirabile Veneris idolum*, unworthy of mention except for the scholastic tradition which they mark: a tradition again referred to in No. 12:

Papa captus hunc vel hanc decipit,
Papa nullum vel nullam excipit.

We should hardly expect the author of such poems to develop either tenderness or power in addressing women, and in this we are not disappointed. Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are samples of a poetic correspondence Hilary carried on with nuns; he exchanges songs with them, denominates himself their humble servitor, *quem emisti munere*, would have a new girdle from one and bounty from another, and assures them one and all of his unwavering constancy. There is nothing in these three amatory songs, *nugae amatoriae*, to warrant our believing them the models of the sincere, concrete, sensuous popular lyrics contained in the *Carmina burana*. They are simply and solely modish poetry padded with the current polite phrases of *minnedienst*, graceful protestations of an unfelt homage, ready compliments of an *homme du monde*. We could hope for no surer testimony that we must not look to France for the originals of our popularizing lyrics than these twelfth-century Franco-Latin poems. As Hilary's poems are not easily accessible it will perhaps be well to print one of them herewith that the reader may convince himself of the truth of these assertions. I choose his ode to Rose, the warmest, most tender of all his verses:

AD ROSEAM

1
Ave sidus occidentis,
Sidus lucis unice,
Summum decus tue gentis
Et telluris Anglice;
Fama multis argumentis
Protestatur publice
Quis sit status tue mentis,
Quam largus inmodice.

2
Ave, splendor puellarum,
Generosa domina,
Genma micans, sidus clarum,
Speciosa femina,
Quae precellis, et non parum,
Mulierum agmina,
Bonum ingens, bonum rarum,
Mea lege carmina!

3

Crede mihi, cum natura
 Te primo composuit,
 Ad probandum sua jura
 Te mundo proposuit.
 Dotes multas, bona plura
 Tibi quidem tribuit;
 Et quid posset sua cura
 Prudenter exhibuit.

4

Te produxit generosam
 Parentum nobilitas,
 Te produxit speciosam
 Benigna nativitas;
 Te severam, te jocosam
 Doctrinae frugalitas;
 Nomen tuum signat rosam,
 Et ecce virginitas.

5

Per te fama verum dicit
 Neque cessat dicere,
 Atque famam verum vincit,
 Dum nequid sufficere;
 Fama vero semper crescit
 Neque cessat crescere;
 Sic se victam erubescit,
 Quae solebat vincere.

6

Corpus decens, splendor visus
 Orisque modestia,
 Et venustus ille risus
 Carensque lascivia,
 Effecerunt ut confisus
 Sim de tua gratia:
 Ob hoc ego sum enisus
 Ad audendum talia.

7

Cum sis potens et benigna,
 Sicut esse sentio,
 Nunc susmito, virgo digna,
 Me tuo servitio;
 Corpus meum et res meas
 Jam tibi subicio;
 Me defendas, et res eas,
 Mea sis protectio.

8

Jam securus ego vivam,
 Ad cuncta tentamina
 Tutus ero, cum te divam
 Habeam pro domina.
 Sume mea, virgo decens,
 Benigne precamina,
 Ut te laudet forma recens
 Mea semper pagina.

This is as near love-poetry as any known author of the twelfth century came to write. Polished as a brilliant pebble, its phraseology borrowed from the hymns to Mary, addressed to a lady of noble birth, collected and cool as Hildebert's compliment to Adèle or Baudri's epistle to Emma; such poetry was current in the French schools of Hilary's day. Odo of Orleans, Peter of Blois, Godefrid of Rheims, Henry of Huntingdon, and many another may have achieved like verse, but the lost effusions of these young and amorous students have not come down to us.

LOVE-LYRICS OF THE GOLIARDS

We must not call the *nugae amatoriae* of schoolmen and churchmen love-lyrics, for then no term is left to use when we are

confronted by the glowing, sensual, concrete poems with which we are now to deal.¹ In these erotic verses which custom connects with the name of goliard, woman is first depicted with detailed realism, the poet spends himself in the recital of passionate sentiment: "novus ignis in me furit; cor aestuat interius; amare crucior; morior vulnere quo glorior." Hilary's gray-hooded Rose is pale as some young Schiller's Laura when compared with Flora faultless as a blossom,² Lydia whose cheeks of rose are dyed with Tyrian red,³ or the maiden like a morning-star who is compact of Blanche fleur and Helen and full-limbed Venus.⁴ In the background of Hilary's poems loom convent walls and nuns singing matins; in goliardic verse the scene shifts to the dimly lighted room of Venus non verecunda:

Dum caupona verterem
Vino debachatus,
Secus templum Veneris
Eram hospitatus;⁵

Veneris ad thalamum
Omnes currunt viae;
Non est in tot turribus
Turris Alethiae;⁶

Si variarum
Odor herbarum

¹ Interesting is the pronouncement of Gerhoh of Reichersberg (d. 1169): "In all the realm of Christendom none longer dares to sing shameless songs publicly." This statement shows how little trust should often be reposed in contemporary testimony. Cf. Scherer, *Gesch. d. d. Dichtung*, p. 63.

² *Carmina burana*, No. 56; Wright, *Early Mysteries* (1838), p. 114; Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 312. Although the version of MS Christine is the completest of the three redactions (8 stanzas), Hauréau actuated by a false shame prints but three stanzas. In self-justification he quotes Figaro's epigram: "Man drinks when he is not thirsty and makes love continually—that's what distinguishes him from the animals."

³ *Anthologia latina*, ed. Riese, Vol. II, p. xli; *Gaudeamus* (1879)², p. 96.

⁴ *Carmina burana*, No. 50; cf. Burckhardt, *Kultur der Renaissance* (1869)², p. 138. Two passages of this long mosaic poem are noteworthy: stanzas 8 and 9, which remind in their phraseology of Hilary's *Ad Roseam* but are shot through with color; stanzas 29 and 30, which Symonds refers to as "a paean of victorious passion."

⁵ *Carmina burana*, No. 49; a long poem in mock heroic strain dealing with the visit of a student in a brothel.

⁶ *Carmina burana*, No. CLXXII; the celebrated *Confessio Goliae*. For the bibliography and variant texts of this poem see Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde d. latein. Lit.*, p. 200. In the name Alethia Paris (*Romania*, Vol. VII, p. 95; cf. Vol. XXIV, p. 455), Laistner (*Germania*, Vol. XXVI, p. 420; *Goliae*, p. 106), and Peiper (*Gaudeamus*², p. 213) see an allusion to the character in Theodulus' *Ecloga*: "Alethia virgo decora nimis David de semine regis pro christiana religione decertat cum Pseuste."

Spiraverit,
 Si dederit
 Thorum rosa,
 Dulciter soporis alimonia
 Post defessa Veneris commercia
 Lassis captatur,
 Dum instillatur.¹

Suddenly it is as if the shackles had fallen away. In such poetry Tannhäuser no longer cringes before the pope hopeless of absolution; Tristan is careless of discovery, Launcelot makes laughing confession. All people seem in love with loving. The world is gross a little, but then for a short space the world is again free. "If you bring Hippolitus | To Pavia Sunday | He'll not be Hippolitus | On the following Monday," says the Archpoet. Stronger than Hercules must that clerk be who but for the moment will escape the snares of Venus.² What we may think of this sort of poetry is another matter, but one thing is sure. It is a new type. Where did it come from? How did it come about?

Let me answer these two questions by asking one. Why should the most accomplished and awakened set of writers which central Europe knew—the students at the French schools—be exempt from the pervasive influence of new social ideals which found their highest expression at just this time in vernacular verse and *courtiois* poetry? I quote from Diez:

While the songs of the troubadours were affording joy and entertainment to the cultured world in the south of France, the northeast of Spain, and upper Italy, lyrical poetic art was likewise being practiced in the other parts of Europe under the same, or at least similar, conditions and forms and in a kindred spirit. This poetry appears everywhere in the double guise of artistic and courtly verse, developing according to local circumstances and popular traditions. This similarity is even to the casual glance surprising, but it gains in extent and clarity the moment that one after careful sifting collates the various points to be compared. And so the question cannot be avoided: did communication and reciprocal influence occur, and if so, to what extent? In such assembling the Provençal lyric necessarily seems to occupy the most important place, for it

¹ *Carmina burana*, No. 37; of the author of this piece Burckhardt wrote: "der feine beobachtende Sybarit kann kein Nordländer sein."

² *Carmina burana*, No. 38; *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XXI, p. 154: Hauréau says of it (*Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 310): "C'est une jolie pièce, écrite avec aisance, où la pensée n'est pas obscurci ni la langue viciée pour satisfaire aux exigences du rythme."

is the oldest and geographically situated in the center of the others. But no matter how many traits these literary phenomena may have in common, one should still be careful not to accord too great weight to their intercommunication. One must at all times seek to differentiate between what is transmitted and, on the other hand, that which arises from general human conditions and from the particular trend of the age.¹

The poetry of troubadour, trouvère, minnesinger, and goliard are all brought into being by the new spirit of the twelfth century which we know so well; chivalry and the cloth of gold, love of sensuous beauty and of every luxury that spiced and embellished it. None of these bodies of verse grew by insensible gradations out of preceding forms—one single movement added a new character-unit, a simple mutation occurred, and that moment mediaeval worldly love-lyrics of a novel species were born.² All that the *nugae amatoriae* of schoolmen needed to become erotic goliard lyrics they received from the same impulse that changed the vernacular lyric of France, Germany, and Italy. The instant this impulse was manifest in Latin poetry the new type was born.³

If we wish, then, to connect this storm-and-stress lyric with that of men like Hilary, we must use the phrase school-poetry in a changed sense. It can no longer mean meticulous lyric and epic verse with the traditions of the school and of scholasticism in every line of it. It is a poetry of revolt, one that has found conscious expression for the passions and tumults of town and university life, one that reflects the answer of its time to the pressure of novel conditions.⁴ The free-lance who wrote the *Saevit aurae*

¹ Cf. Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours* (1883)², pp. 213, 215.

² Cf. Manly, "Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 577 ff.; Allen, *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 442 ff.

³ Vogt, *Leben und Dichten der deutschen Spielleute im Mittelalter* (1876), pp. 9 f.: "Until the middle of the twelfth century the dominant class in the domain of poetry continued to be the clergy, and it is characteristic that even the duchess Gertrude, wife of Henry the Proud, when she wished to hear the Song of Roland in German verses, did not turn as we might expect to a minstrel but to a priest. Not until the twelfth century came, and the whole intellectual life of the nation underwent that powerful about-face which gave full currency to the worldly element in literature, did the minstrels occupy a more important and influential position in the history of German culture." With practically no change these sentences will do as well for the story of any other European literature. As clergy yielded their ground to minstrels, so did Latin churchmen fall back somewhat before the children of this world, the goliards. "Legend and love were the two main themes of the twelfth century literary revolt against earlier religious traditions." Strange, indeed, would it be if the Latin students of the period had continued unmoved by them.

⁴ We gain a hint of the coming of such poetry in the Viennese MS published in the *Archiv. f. ältere deutsche Geschichte*, Vol. X, p. 559: "Young people surrender themselves to

spiritus may possibly be a clerk like Hilary, but he resembles him no more than the author of the *Roman Elegies* or the *Venetian Epigrams* resembles the poet who composed watery and inane poetic exercises for the *Leipziger Liederbuch*, or (to speak in terms of closer analogy) than Walther in the years of his maturity as wandering singer and political seer resembled him who wrote while under the spell of Reinmar's courtly effusions the songs of the "first period": theorizing debates on the nature of love.

A new type of poetry assuredly; a new sort of author perhaps. The wandering students (goliards) seem to have known life better than they did grammar and dialectic, to have been in close touch with all classes and conditions of people.¹ They scarcely abandoned their school life to become settled churchmen, famous pedagogues, royal secretaries and the like, as did most of those we spoke of in the preceding chapter. No conventional bonds were set for them; whoever they were, they led a care-free and vagabond

an indiscreet and frivolous manner of living, run after prostitutes who make public display of their wares, and seek by their effeminate and ribald verses to seduce and incite to sensual pleasure any who will listen to them. These youths believe that they are thus acquiring much fame, whereas they only succeed in being ridiculous. For proper and intelligent men despise the things on which they set much value, esteem them as nothing more than minstrels, and take good care not to clothe them with reputable offices." Evil as the morals of the students were, and they have been portrayed to us by many a contemporary reformer (cf., for example, a sermon of Chancellor Prevostin, thirteenth century, Hauréau, Vol. III, p. 166), the pace was set for them by their instructors—like master like man. When we remember the verses of Serlo referred to above, and recall among the poems ascribed to Marbod the *Satira in amatorem pueri* (Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. CLXXI, col. 1717; Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der latein. Lit.*², p. 5); when we review the epigrams assigned to Hildebert (Hauréau, *Mélanges poétiques*, pp. 177 ff.): how he believes sodomy not a crime but a vice, details the phases in the development of the human seed, how in the *Elegia de perfida amica* (Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 421) the poet warns against women who betray their lovers for money; we need not be surprised to find poems of similar import intruding everywhere even in the trope-books and sequence-collections. The song *Clauso chronos reserato* (*Carmina burana*, No. 46) is among a series of Christmas songs in a sequentiary of the Order of Preachers; MS St. Gall 383, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 363, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 7. The *Ultim sudor Herculis* (*Carm. bur.*, No. 38) is found along with other *vagantenlieder* in the antiphonary of Peter of Medici; Codex Laurentianus Plut. XXIX, 1, *Annuaire bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France* (1885), pp. 101 ff., *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 9. The *Rumor letalis* (*Carm. bur.*, No. 83) and other profane songs of the Benedictine collection are included in a troparium of the thirteenth century; Codex Stuttgartiensis. Handbibl. I Asc. 95, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 28, etc., etc. The famous *chansonnier* of Montpellier contains in parallel columns liturgic texts and erotic, often smutty, French love-songs; Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique au xii et xiii siècle* (1865); Koller, *Zeitschr. f. Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. IV, p. 1-82; Raynaud, *Recueil de motets français* (1881), Vol. I; *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 28. The sacred songs of Cod. Parisin. 15131 appear to have been composed to fit the melodies of old French popular pieces; Hauréau, Vol. IV, p. 278, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 24. Hard it is to decide in many cases whether we are dealing with mediaeval naïveté or brutality (cf. *supra*, Part I, p. 33).

¹ Cf. ten Brink, *Gesch. d. engl. Lit.*, Vol. I (1899)², pp. 353 f.

existence and the stamp of it is everywhere in the erotic lyrics they composed and sang.

As to the other question, how far we may trace in these lyrics the influence of Provençal and French prototypes—it is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge impossible, to attempt a definite answer. In isolated cases, of course, we may demonstrate that one Latin lyric or another came from specific French or Provençal songs.¹ But to ascertain in any general and sweeping fashion just in how far the love-lyrics of the goliards were conditioned by and shaped after a precedent body of vernacular court-poetry in France—this is quite a different matter. First, we must establish a codification of the melodies, verse and stanza forms, rhyme devices, etc., of troubadour and trouvère poetry; and then show that these were introduced into Latin lyrics of a later date than they. Second, we must gather the main themes and the particular treatment of these themes in troubadour and trouvère poetry and prove that at a later time Latin lyrics adopted them. Third, in many minor matters of internal evidence, such as idiosyncrasy of phrase and epithet, style and syntax, reminiscences, commonplaces, identity of petty mannerism, and the like, we must make apparent that the mediaeval Latin love-lyrics followed definitely in the steps of precedent vernacular verse in southern and northern France.

These things have already been done, it is true, in a detached fashion and with widely differing results. We have many studies of melodic and harmonic art during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,² but still none that make reasonable the claim of France to priority where Latin lyricity is concerned. Investigation of French verse and stanza forms leaves us yet with the possibility that mediaeval Latin erotic lyrics followed quite exclusively their own traditional development.³ Their themes, too, are largely akin

¹ By applying tests, for instance, such as those suggested in the Appendix, *infra*.

² For bibliography of this subject cf. the study of Lavoix on the *Musique au siècle de St. Louis* (in the second volume of Raynaud's *Recueil de motets français* [1883]), pp. 467-79, and the supplements of *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1885 ff.; also David et Lussy, *Histoire de la notation musicale depuis ses origines* (1882); Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique* (1865), and Restori's "Note sur la musique des chansons" in Julléville, *Histoire*, Vol. I, pp. 390 ff.

³ Cf. Wilhelm Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*, pp. 173 ff.; *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1905), Vol. II, pp. 30 ff. Meyer says: "Ich glaube bewiesen zu haben, dass die Deutschen seit Not-

to those of all the vernacular bodies of mediaeval verse and unless one insist unduly upon the evidence of MS chronology¹ there is nothing to be gained by the cataloguing of motifs that Latin poetry possessed in great part centuries before the troubadours and trouvères appeared upon the scene.²

Perhaps we shall never know beyond the shadow of doubt either of two things: first, that there were not written before the twelfth century by goliards beautiful Latin ballads of love;³ second, just how great was the influence exercised by the Provençal

ker einen ununterbrochenen Strom lebhafter und kunstreicher Sequenzendichtung gehabt haben und dass von den lateinischen Gedichten der Carmina Burana sicher viele, wahrscheinlich die meisten in Deutschland gedichtet sind." Meyer believes in the priority of the Latin forms to the French: "Den Provenzalen und den Franzosen lag es bei der grossen Ähnlichkeit der Sprache viel näher und leichter, die kunstreichen Strophen der mittellateinischen Dichter nachzuahmen. Was bei diesem Streben die provenzalischen, die französischen und die deutschen Dichter geleistet haben, dessen Wert gegenseitig abzuwägen, ist kaum möglich und hat keinen Zweck."

¹As one should not do; simply because a sort of Provençal lyric (based upon the time-tables of MSS which have chanced to descend to us) seems to antedate certain French songs by a few years; because again the latter precede by a span the German courtly song, and this German poetry anticipates the appearance of some Latin erotic verses—therefore what? For this reason alone shall we establish a direct line of evolution in four languages from Poitou to Benedictbeuern by way of Paris? I have already expressed my feelings on this head (cf. *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 412).

²Latin poetry is the starting-point of any investigation of the mediaeval Provençal and French lyric. Failure to recognize this fact largely, at times entirely, nullifies the results attained by Jeanroy in his *Origines*. He would prove first that certain themes existed in France and that they later were developed in other countries, and all this is fairly true, especially when we accept his chronology as decisive and believe that *post hoc* means *propter hoc*. But there is nothing essentially French in most of the themes that he lists as fundamental ones; and as a matter of fact almost all of them can be found in Latin poetry known to us from a much earlier time than the one that he treats.

The only reason, of course, that we cannot discover many of these themes in vernacular poetry of the centuries precedent to the troubadours is that all of this earlier verse is lost, and there is but the indistinct mirage of it in the dull skies of Latin literature. There were minstrels who wrote well in Romance long before the middle of the ninth century, if we believe such testimony as the lines which summon poets to the memorial service for Adalhard of Corbie (d. 826):

Rustica concelebret romana latinaque lingua
Saxo, qui pariter plangens pro carmine dicat:
Vertite huc cuncti cecinit quam maximus ille,
Et tumulum facite, et tumulo super addite carmen.

Cf. Raynouard, *Choix des poésies des troubadours* (1816-21), Vol. II, p. cxxv; Diez, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Rajna, *Le origini dell' epopea francese*, p. 326, note 2.

³Harping upon a single theme is tiresome, but I would again suggest that it is not beyond the realm of possibility that a new MS earlier in date than the twelfth century will be discovered in which Latin love-ballads are included; then may topple the carefully reared fabric of goliard ascendancy in twelfth-century France. Without the Cambridge MS we should be without any hint of such a song as the *Levis exsurgit zephyrus*; except for Schröder's discovery twelve years ago we should not know that popular German dance ballads were being piped in the early years of the eleventh century. By so thin a thread does literary history at times depend. English literature furnishes two remarkable analogies. Were it not for one poem, *The Owl and Nightingale*, early transition English would offer us

lyric on the poems of the wandering students. We must be content to say that from the twelfth century on, impelled thereto by a new movement in literary art, goliards composed songs like the *Saevit aurae spiritus*, *Lydia bella*, and *Si linguis angelicis*, referred to above, like the *E globo veteri*, *Rumor letalis*,¹ and a host of other poems contained in the MSS of St. Omer, Queen Christine, and Benedictbeuern. Effective as these pieces are, they are still full of classical reminiscence, recondite mythological allusion, artificial verse structure, learned apparatus, scholastic subtleties, and mention of school and studies; they are poems frankly cognizant of the necessity for fleshly enjoyment, hungry for it, unsated by it, unabashed in the discussion of it.²

These poems, so far as we may judge by the MS evidence at our present disposal, were written by the goliards first in the twelfth century and in France. There is no inherent reason why Englishmen and Germans and Italians who had never been in any of the French schools may not have composed such verses, but proof of this is lacking. Current doctrine therefore may hold *en défaut de mieux* until we know more than we do or are likely to about the individual history of these fugitive Latin pieces. About a hundred of the love-poems in the *Carmina burana* belong to the type of erotic goliard lyric and may thus claim the schools of France as their birthplace, or—what is the same thing for our purpose—they were modeled upon songs which had originated there; they

but the dried curds of homilies, proverbs, and gnomic verses, didactic works like *A Father's Instruction* and *Paternoster*, the *Ormulum*, *Poema Morale*, *Bestiary*, and *Ancren Riwele*. Layamon's *Brut*, saints' lives, religious allegories, and uninspired planctus. But one poem and one alone is sufficient to mark the existence in this age of freshness and originality. It is known to us in two MSS, but others of its kind are known to us in none. Again: "among the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum, a small quarto volume numbered Nero A. x contains the four Middle English poems known as *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, *Patience*, and *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*. No single line in these poems has been discovered in any other manuscript" (*Cambridge History of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 357). Had this single MS not been found we should not possess three of the finest English poems of the fourteenth century, together with the "jewel of English mediaeval literature" (as Gaston Paris called *Gawayne*; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. XXX).

¹ *Carmina burana*, Nos. 40, 83; Dreves, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 363, 365; Wright, *Early Mysteries* (1838), p. 111.

² Cf. *Carmina burana*, Nos. 31-51, 53-57, 59, 60, 61, stanzas 9-16, 65, 78, 84, 89, 90, 95-98, 101-3, 105-18, 120, 122-29, 131-34, 137, 139, 141-44, 147, 154-61, 163-68. This list has no absolute value and is merely provisional. Learned goliard pieces these poems are, but not always in their entirety, for in certain stanzas of some of them we find intercalations or allusions of the popular sort. Such material will be reverted to below, in our treatment of "popularizing Latin lyrics."

were conditioned by the "French" spirit of their time. Without hesitation and without hair-splitting let us assign them to that country which appears to have first given them birth and vogue.

It may, however, be acknowledged that there is a trace of guile in this ready surrender of the goliard songs to France. For they are no more the poems we are seeking than were the *nugae amatoriae* of the schoolmen. Beautiful they are, many of them, but popular they are not, any of them. Dance-melodies are not heard in them. They have no establishable connection with the humble festivals and customs and speech of the people. Except in such instances as we shall find later on, where transmuted snatches of folk-song and vernacular tones intrude, goliard poems remain a learned thing, as far removed generally and generically from real life as the metrical faëry romances of French Arthurian tradition. They are not racial, not autobiographic. Sprung like *courtois* poetry from new impulses, they soon grow, just as this poetry did, "universal"—they become "denationalized." "Take ten lyric *trouvères*," said Louis Passy, "and you will not find ten men, but just one lone *trouvère*."¹ In like wise one goliard's lyric is apt to resemble any and every other's.

FRENCH POEMS IN THE *CARMINA BURANA*

In the preceding chapter we differentiated two kinds of song, the amatory lyric of known authors and the erotic lyric of the wandering students—assigning them both to twelfth-century France. There is no difference of opinion possible as to the first sort, the amatory lyric; but it was suggested that the second sort, the erotic song, might be born in any individual instance outside of France. There are at least five methods which have been employed by scholars to determine the country where such erotic songs originated, and it was my original intention to subject these pieces one by one to the five tests in order thus to marshal philological evidence in support of the statement that certain goliard pieces hitherto ascribed to France might be won for Germany. But I soon found that the accumulation of detail which this process

¹ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. XX (1858), p. 1; cf. also Bédier, *Revue des deux mondes* (1894), p. 923, Jeanroy in Julléville's *Histoire*, Vol. I, p. 380.

of research necessarily entailed threatened to bury the main argument of my thesis so deep beneath a mass of debris that I could not expect even the reader trained to academic digging to recover it. I therefore have contented myself to allow French origin to any piece whose origin seemed uncertain, in order not to cloud the issue by petty doubttings. It is no essential part of my present endeavor to rescue mediaeval Latin lyrics for Germany; I want merely those that I may have after suspicion is stilled—any songs which in no wise suggest a foreign source and which are found in a German MS I shall assume to be native and German. Lest I should be suspected of not taking into consideration the five tests in the case of any song I hereafter examine I cite and discuss them all in an appendix at the end of this study. One other matter before we proceed further: Schmeller's text of the *Benedictbeuern* MS is untrustworthy. Before undertaking my work I used all the titles given below to establish as correct a version as possible.¹

The lyrics of love now left us in the *Carmina burana* number some thirty songs: 52, 61, 63, 79–82 (81 is to be divided into two pieces), 88, 92, 99, 100, 108 stanzas 5 and 6, 112, 114 stanza 3, 115 stanza 1, 120 stanza 6, 121, 136, 138, 145, 146, 104, 119, 130, 135, 140, 162.

Six of these lyrics we may well assign to France, for they are Latin *pastourelles*: 52 *Aestivali sub fervore*, 61 *Ludo cum Caecilia*, 63 *Exiit diluculo*, 104 *Florent omnes arbores*, 119 *Lucis orto sidere*, and 120 *Vere dulci mediante*.² Such pastorals were

¹ *Carmina burana*, ed. Schmeller, 1847; fourth edition reprinted without change 1905: Wilhelm Meyer, *Fragmenta burana* (1901), *Ludus de Antichristo* and *Ursprung des Motetts* (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*) (1905), Vols. I and II); Martin, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XX (1876), pp. 46–69; R. M. Meyer, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX (1885), pp. 121–236; Wustmann, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXV (1891), pp. 328–43; Patzig, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI (1892), pp. 183–203; Dreves, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX (1895), pp. 363 ff.; Böhmer, *ibid.*, Vol. XLIX (1907), pp. 161 ff.; Bartsch, *Romanisches Jahrbuch*, Vol. XII (1881), pp. 1 ff.; Ilberg, *Zeitschr. f. d. östr. Gymnasien*, Vol. XL (1889), pp. 103 ff.; Ehrismann, *Zeitschr. f. d. Phil.*, Vol. XXXVI (1904), pp. 396 ff.; Lundius, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX (1907), pp. 337 ff.; Santangelo, *Studi Romanzi*, Vol. IV (1905), p. 299; Wallensköld, *Memoires d. l. soc. neo-phil. a Helsingfors*, Vol. I (1893), pp. 71 ff.; Ehrental, *Studien zu den Liedern der Vaganten* (1891); Peiper, *Gaudeamus* (1879)²; Gröber, *Carmina clericorum* (1880); Laistner, *Goliath* (1879); Schreiber, *Die Vagantenstrophe* (1894); Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, particularly Vol. XXI (1895); further, variant texts of individual songs published from other MSS than that of *Benedictbeuern* by Wright, Grimm, Du Ménil, Müldener, Hauréau, etc.

² A *pastourelle* is a simple poem set in a rustic scene, graceful and trifling in tone, describing the meeting of a man of culture and an *ingenue*, generally a shepherdess. In no version that we have is this type of poem a *volkslied*, it is refined rather than simple, subtle rather than true. Curiously enough, the earliest example of the *pastourelle* is the Latin

sung in Provence and North France probably as early as the first half of the twelfth century and it is thought to have been long after this time that they spread across Europe finally to appear in fourteenth-century Italy as madrigals.¹

Another group of seven poems has been assigned to France because of allusions they contain. These are as follows:

79 *Congaudentes ludite*; a simple dance-song of three quatrains and refrain in which occurs the expression *bela mia*. But it is not these words which seem to betray its origin² so much as the antithesis the song emphasizes of crabbed age and fiery youth (after the manner of the French *debat*) and the tawdry

song in the MS of St. Omer; cf. Mone, *Archiv f. Kunde d. d. Vorzeit*, Vol. VII (1838), p. 296; Du Méril (1847), p. 228; Pillet, *Studien zur Pastourelle* (1902), p. 9; Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 515. For the history of this lyric form and complete bibliography, cf. the first chapter of Jeanroy's book.

¹ Cf. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, Vol. IV, p. 156. I do not quite understand why we may not imagine No. 61 to be Italian, for it is found in an Italian MS. Symonds felt that No. 52, with its verse *sub olivae me decore detinebat mora*, must have been written near Como or Garda, although the facts apparently do not bear out his belief. "In the production of the songs of the wandering students, with their boisterous love of life, their fresh feeling for nature and their keen satire against the church, the Italians had no share at all, or at any rate a most insignificant one," says Gaspari (*Italian Literature to the Death of Dante* [1901], p. 45), and Straccali, Ronca, and Novati share this view. Ozanam, however, regarded the *Altercatio Helenae et Ganymedis* as Italian (*Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire littéraire de l'Italie*, p. 20) and Hauréau ascribes the *De Phyllide et Flora* to the same source (*Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. 2, p. 303), Santangelo (*Studio sulla poesia goliardica*, pp. 82 ff.) tries to prove a number of the *Carmina burana* Italian in coloring and in origin. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the *Suevi* which Schmeller prints in the sixth stanza of No. 52 and which caused several scholars to assign the song to Germany was changed to *saevi* by Peiper and Laistner.

Several other poems in the *Carmina burana* are believed by R. M. Meyer (*loc. cit.*, pp. 222 f.) to be imitations of French *pastourelles*: Nos. 45 *Grates ago Veneri*, 56 *Saevit aures spiritus*, 105 *Tempus adest floridum*, etc. No one of these pieces, however, can be copied from a *pastourelle* as the word is defined in the preceding note. My definition is based upon Jeanroy and G. Paris (*Romania*, Vol. V, p. 125).

² Unless we think a handful of words determine the nativity of a song. If we do, pray where were the following born?

*Deu sal misir bescher de vin,
Tunc eum osculamur.
Wir enahten niht uf den Rin,
Sed Bacho famulamur.*—No. 174.

*Urbs salva regia
Trevir, urbs urbium
Per quam lascivia
Redit ad gaudium,
Florescit patria,
Flore sodalium.*

Per dulzor!

*Her wirt, tragent her nuo win,
Vrotlich suln wir bi dem sin.*—No. 181.

Compare with these the song mentioned on p. 74.

goliard phrase *militemus Veneri*.¹ The outcry of love with which the refrain ends, *da hi zevaleria*, has always sounded German in my ears when I remember various unintelligible *juchzer* which break forth from German popular poetry of love, but this is a mere matter of opinion and none can tell.²

80 *Cur suspectum me tenet domina?* The complaint of one suspected of sodomy;³ five quatrains with the refrain *Tort a vers mei dama*. These French words do not necessarily make a Frenchman of their author any more than the practically identical line in Hilary's *Ad Petrum Abelardum* converts the nationality of the latter, particularly as another phrase of the poem bespeaks German origin.⁴ But the song is perhaps best thought of as composed at a French school.⁵

81 *Juvenes amoriferi*; a simple dance-song of two quatrains with refrain. Contains no French word, unless *domicelli* and *domicellas* be gallicisms.⁶

81a *Doleo quod nimium*; a Latin-Provençal love-song of seven six-versed stanzas.⁷

¹Most of the poems that contain this phrase are suspected of learned and clerical origin: e.g., No. 31 *militare Dioneo lari*: 35 *Veneris militiam proponere*; 37 *sic et Veneris militia*; 53 *militandi studio Venus excitatur*; 107 *militemus simul Veneri*; 124 *signa Veneris militet*; 128 *jam dudum amoris militem*; 144 *militetis Veneri*, etc.

²Jeanroy (*Origines*, p. 6, n. 3) thinks differently, as is to be expected. But R. M. Meyer, in speaking of two other *juwezungen* (125 *lodircundeia*, *lodircundeia* and 136 *hyrca hyrce nazaza trillirivos*) remarks: "the two refrains do not appear to be German because they are largely without the vowel *a* which is so predominant in German refrains" (*loc. cit.*, p. 189).

³Not the first clerk to report false suspicion in this regard. Cf. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch* (1900), p. 376: "*Meretrices publicae ubique per vicos et plateas civitatis passim ad lupanaria sua clericos transeuntes quasi per violentiam pertrahebant. Quod si forte ingredi recusarent, confestim eos Sodomitae post ipsos conclamantes dicebant. Illud enim foedum et abominabile vitium adeo civitatem quasi lepra incurabilis et venenum insanabile occupaverat, quod honorificum reputabant, si quis publice teneret unam vel plures concubinas.*"

⁴The debatable line *nostra fuit Briciaavia* afforded Grimm the conjecture that Breisgau was meant (*Gedichte auf Friedr. I*, p. 177), but Du Méril translated the word *Bressia avia*, i. e., remote Bresse: in this he is followed by Hubatsch (*Lat. Vagantenlieder*, p. 90) and so French origin is given the piece. As if a German student away at school could not utter the preening statement: "Ah, Breisgau was free of this sort of infamy!"

⁵As may have been other songs presumably written by German students like No. 82 *Dulce solum natalis patriae*, 162 *O comes amoris, dolor*, and the *Hospita in Gallia* quoted above; all songs of parting. To the French school should go No. 83 *Rumor letalis* which bids farewell to an unworthy mistress, although this song is found only in German MSS.

⁶Cf. Voigt, *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. XXV, p. 34.

⁷Cf. *Fragmenta burana*, p. 8, and Patzig (*loc. cit.*, p. 197) for emended text. The song 81a is made by patching together No. 169 and the last six stanzas of 81.

83 *Rumor letalis*; a song of farewell to a faithless mistress in three eight-versed stanzas, three quatrains, and three stanzas of five verses each.¹

84 *Tange sodes cytharam*; a pendant to the above. The faithless mistress has been replaced by a more modest love. Four eight-versed stanzas and four of six lines each; nasty in tone toward the end.²

88 *Tempus instat floridum*; the complaint of a deserted girl. Sorrows for the lover who has fled in *Franciam*; six six-versed stanzas prefaced by a nature introduction of three lines and refrain.

Now were it not for this last poem I should not object to sur-rendering to French originals and French models all the above songs. Who cares in any large sense whether higher criticism assigns one quatrain more or less to this country or that, because the sweetheart is called *belā mia* instead of *Flora mea*, because *hyrca*, *hyrce nazaza* is not so vowel-a-ful as *tandaradei*, because *Briciauuia* seems to a Frenchman to be *Bressia avia* rather than *Brisigavia*, or because *domicellas* is gravely averred to be *Mamsels* and not *Jungfern*! It hurts somewhat, I confess, to give over No. 83 so easily. There is no allusion therein to school or learning, no classical lore or mythological imagery, no unreal figure of speech. It is direct and tuneful as few Latin songs ever written, one of the few mediaeval poems I know where the Roman tongue flows as smoothly and truly as if spoken by an Augustan author. But we give it up for a most uncritical reason—the reason that has satisfied many an investigator in mediaeval fields:

¹ Also found in a Stuttgart MS of the thirteenth century; cf. Dreves, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 363. Symonds (*Wine, Women and Song*, p. 129) says of the poem: "A remarkable specimen of the songs written for a complicated melody. The first eight lines seem set to one tune; in the next four that tune is slightly accelerated, and a double rhyme is substituted for a single one in the tenth and twelfth verses. The five concluding lines go to a different kind of melody, and express in each stanza a changed mood of feeling." Lines 17, 34, and 51 rhyme.

² Intricate in rhyme-scheme like the preceding poem. Jeanroy was able to clear up the meaning of four lines of it which had hitherto defied adequate translation:

Mittam eam in ambulis,
Et castigabo virgulis,
Tangam eam stimulis,
Ut facio juvenculis.
Vinculis
Vinciam, si consulis.

The comparison of the mistress with a steed would appear to stamp sufficiently this poem as of French extraction (cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 53, 477).

the poem seems to be too sure and clever, too *gelungen* to be written by a German pen.

Personally I weary of the doctrine that German poets during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a trifle naïve and stupid, and therefore unable to achieve a Latin song quite so well as their French brethren. I will not exactly say that this is not so, especially if the song be a pretentious performance full of scholastic phrasing and formula, and I acknowledge to a sense of awe when critics play high trump cards like Walter of Chatillon and Hugo of Orleans, St. Bernard and Abelard and Peter of Blois, Hildebert of Lavardin (who has left us no lyric line more sincere than the hexameters of Fortunatus) and the rest of the brilliant company of ecclesiastics and schoolmen whose lyric production we have so largely to take on faith.

But if Walter did write the St. Omer songs, if Hugo did devote three living but rough poems to the courtesan Flora, they are none of them instinct with the feeling of the *Rumor letalis*; a piece so spontaneous in emotion, so flexible in meter that Symonds can compare it with Byron's *When We Two Parted* as a close analogue.

1

Rumor letalis
 Crebro me vulnerat,
 Meisque malis
 Dolores aggregat,
 Me male multat
 Vox tui criminis,
 Quae jam resultat
 In mundi terminis.

 Invida fama
 Tibi novercatur;
 Cautius ama,
 Ne comperiat.

 Quod agis, age tenebris;
 Procul a famae palpebris
 Laetatur amor latebris
 Et dulcibus illecebris
 Cum murmure jocos.

2

Nulla notavit
 Te turpis fabula,
 Dum nos ligavit
 Amoris copula,
 Sed frigescente
 Nostra cupidine,
 Sordes repente
 Funebri crimine.

 Fama laetata
 Novis hymenaeis,
 Irrevocata,
 Ruit in plateis.

 Patet lupanar omnium
 Pudoris in palatium,
 Nam virginale lilium
 Marcet a tactu vilium
 Commercio proboso.

3

Nunc plango florem
Aetatis tenerae,
Nitidiorem
Veneris sidere,
Tunc columbinam
Mentis dulcedinem,
Nunc serpentinam
Amaritudinem.

Verbo rogantes
Removes hostili;
Munera dantes
Foves in cubili.
Illos abire praecipis
A quibus nihil accipis;
Caecos claudosque recipis,
Viros illustres decipis
Cum melle venenoso.

I find nowhere else in the Latin lyrics of these times so earnest an apostrophe to a faithless companion. And the longer one searches, the more clear does this become. Let us read a few lines of Hugo's tirade against Flora who has left him, lines from a poet whom Wilhelm Meyer rightly considers *eigenartig*, *vortrefflich*, *lebensprühend*:

Quid luges lirice, quid meres pro meretrice?
Respira retice neque te dolor urat amice!
Scimus—et est aliquid—quia te tua Flora reliquit.
Sed tu ne cures, possunt tibi dicere plures,
Qui simili more simili periere dolore.
Teque dolor scorti dabit afflictum cito morti,
Ni dure sorti respondes pectore forti.¹

There is food for reflection in the thought that we must deliver our poem of parting to France, although we can discover no other French song like it, although it hints in no way at this country or its institutions, although it is found only in two German MSS—and all for the reason above given which a moment's study

¹ "O poet, thou must not grieve thus over Flora the runaway courtesan. It is all very uncomfortable for thee of course, but don't worry to death. First, there's no help for it anyway, and then besides—let the muse comfort you—that sort of girl is not worth it. Listen, you inexperienced person, and learn of what clay such a maiden is made. Good things to eat and drink, pretty clothes and other rich presents are the only matters that count with her; they outweigh your person and your poems. If you cease giving her presents, she seeks out another patron who is generous and laughs at you; begin your gifts again and she returns to you. She is tender for money's sake, so that she can cajole much from you; how you secure it, if you ruin yourself in getting it—that's all one to her." Cf. Meyer, *Göttinger Nachrichten* (1907), p. 131. Hugo is hurt evidently in his tenderest spot—his pride. He wishes to worm out of his difficulty somehow and escape the malicious pity of his friends. So he pretends that he does not care much and publishes the woman as a common prostitute in order to save his own face. He succeeds but badly, although he gains here and there a certain pothouse effectiveness. If we compare this crude satire on fallen women, this first cousin to Goliath, *De conjuge non ducenda*, with *Rumor letalis*, the lyric earnestness and truth of the latter at once becomes manifest.

convinces us is no reason at all. So set are we in our belief that France dominated the mediaeval lyric except for the crest of German *minnesang*.

But No. 88 I shall not yield to France. In this, the most beautiful or at least the most touching song which the Latin lyric of the Middle Ages has to offer, there is ample evidence of German authorship. When Jeanroy associates it with French pieces dealing with the same theme, he merely shows how great the gulf is which separates the two. Again I am going to take space to print the whole poem in order to establish my point the better; and because wherever I have come across it except in Schmeller's insufficient text the introductory stanza has been omitted, as being but some chance *anhängsel*.

It is this very prelude that gives dramatic tone to the poem! It offers us the nature-background for the passion which the next moment will unroll before us, it strengthens the romantic irony which dwells in the sudden break of mood that the coming lines bring. Heine, taught by the simple art of the *schnaderhüpfel*,¹ never gripped us with more sudden force than does this *planctus*.

1

Tempus instat floridum,²
Cantus crescit avium,
Tellus dat solatium.
Eia, qualia
Sunt amoris gaudia!

2

Huc usque, me miseram!
Rem bene celaveram,
Et amavi callide.
Rea tandem patuit,
Nam venter intumuit,
Partus instat gravidæ.

¹ For a discussion of the theory that Heine got a certain use of the "pathetic fallacy" directly from South-German popular quatrains, see my "Heine and the Schnaderhüpfel," *Studies in Popular Poetry* (1902), pp. 13-23. In a reference to this study a year or so ago Walzel announced his intention to teach me better ways. I shall, I trust, never be unready to receive new light on any subject, but the odd thing about this matter is that I agree with Walzel as to Heine's debt to popular poetry, and it is only through a misapprehension of my words that he regards me as an antagonist.

² There are a few similar examples of *stimmungsbrechung* in German *minnesang*, the most effective of which perhaps is Ulrich von Winterstetten's *Sumer wil uns aber bringen*.

Summer brings again before us
Trees in leaf and birds in chorus;
Flowers are come to clothe the plain.
Forth from winter's fetters sally
Heath and meadow, hill and valley:
Roses red are seen again.
All the world to mirth is turning—
Only I alone am mourning.

Cf. Nicholson, *Old German Love Songs* (1907), p. 129. The restoration of the Latin text as here given is based upon suggestions of Wustmann and Peiper, and especially of Lundius, who I believe for the first time recovered the proper form of the last two stanzas.

3

Hinc mater me verberat,
Hinc pater improperat,
Ambo tractant aspere.
Sola domi sedeo,
Egredi non audeo,
Nec in palam ludere.

4

Cum foris egredior,
A cunctis inspicio,
Quasi monstrum fuerim.
Cum vident hunc uterum,
Alter pulsatur alterum,
Silent dum transierim.

5

Semper pulsant cubito,
Me designant digito,
Acsi mirum fuerim.

Nutibus me indicant,
Dignam rogo judicant,
Quod semel peccaverim.

6

Quid percurram singula?
Ego sum in fabula,
Et in ore omnium.
Hoc dolorem cumulat,
Quod amicus exulat
Propter illud paululum.

7

Ob patris saevitiam
Recessit in Franciam
A finibus ultimis.
Ex eo vim patior,
Jam dolore morior,
Semper sum in lacrimis.¹

There is of course no need of assigning to a French source this ballad of a pregnant girl merely because it contains the line *recessit in Franciam*. The argument of the poem is as follows:

Gretchen has been betrayed by him who loves her. Beaten by her mother and cursed by her father, she still does not dare walk abroad, for her neighbors nudge one another and make mouths as she passes by. For her single lapse from honesty she is adjudged worthy of the stake. Why prolong the tedious tale? She has become a mock and her breath is choked with weeping; the tears flow faster at the thought that a father's cruelty has driven the lover off to France.

Now there are at least two reasons why the lover is thought of as fleeing to France. First, this is his native home, as German folk-poetry has often considered it the birth-place of light-of-loves. *Es war ein Buhle frech genug/ War erst aus Frankreich kommen*

¹ While the color of this stanza may perhaps not be said to be specifically German, it can hardly fail to remind us of many commonplaces in the *volkslied*, such as

Nu mag ich numme singen
Und mag kein freuden han,
Ich het mir ein bülen erworben,
Den müß ich faren lan.

—Uhland, *Volkslieder*, No. 36.

says Goethe, but we do not therefore deem his song modeled on a French original, nor need we the poem in *Carmina burana*; in fact we should think it not so, just because France is mentioned. A French song would presumably make the lover who did the betraying an English or Italian lad. The other reason for mentioning France is that it is a foreign land—*terra incognita* to the fearful German maid—and so seems the more terrible as a place of exile for one whom she still loves. She has heard perhaps of the dissolute life there carried on by students and clerks and churchmen—rumors that have been much multiplied and magnified by more than one swaggering Meier Helmbrecht who has returned from his travels to strut about his native village. Again, then, the mention of France has a subtle poetic value which we immediately recognize but which tends to remove the song from its implied French origin.

But while these two reasons do not absolutely do away with the possibility of French origin, they still do not, on the other hand, prove German birth for the piece. Another and much more convincing reason does this. In all the length and breadth of mediæval Latin lyric singing we have no other poem dealing with this theme which betrays half the simple sincerity and directness of this complaint. This assertion is not based upon subjective appreciation of the piece in hand, although that would not be here an unsafe guide; it is based on a search through all available printed material. Such search establishes the point that however betrayal of the girl may be viewed—warned against, guarded against, stormed against, or, as it generally is, treated mockingly and brutally, *bestiali more*—it is never but this once made the theme of a dolorous song. Here again, as in the case of the *verna suspiria feminae* and the “Nun’s Complaint,” we have a unique utterance.

The source of it, I believe, lies close at hand. Either it is one of the vernacular *frauenlieder*, examples of which we have in German *minnesang* and some of which find their direct origin in the *volkslied*; or the source may be the personal experience of the poet himself—something suffered or seen by him. For the first we should posit a rough or maimed snatch such as—

Komm her, lieb Janche,
 Komm her zu mir.
 Es ist geschehen,
 Es ist vorbei;

beautifully deepened and environed by an individual atmosphere. For the other possibility we should imagine a poet like the sympathizing younger Schiller of the *Kindsmörderin*, or a Stephen Phillips when writing *The Wife*. Nor is this latter supposition nullified by two or three turns of speech in our poem which critics feel to militate against the pathetic value of the piece: *callide*, for instance, *nam venter intumuit*, etc. They do not indicate to my mind either rawness of statement or boastfulness of attitude on the part of the deceived girl. Consider:

The world is gay with flowers and love requited. Surrender to it has brought on an unheeding head shame, misery untold, and the end of all things. A girl has lost more than life; she does not reason, she seeks no comfort in excuse or protestation, she feels no remorse. In a short blunt fashion she reviews the story as she has done a hundred times before: she has loved "skilfully," her mother strikes her, she is a mock, her love is fleeing, and so over and over again. How could a mediaeval poet better picture the scene; how would a mediaeval maiden suffer. In just this way, or with a flood of protestation and wringing of hands?

There is another song which a Frenchman is supposed to have written because of the verse *placet plus Franciae regina*:¹ 51 the serenade to Flower of Thorn. Then why not ascribe to an Englishman No. 108a:

Waere diu werlt alle min
 Von deme mere unze an den Rin,
 Des wolt ih mih darben,
 Daz diu *chünegin von Engellant*
 Laege an minen armen.

The lady of both 51 and 108 is Eleanor of Poitou, the ideal type of beauty to two generations of poets. In neither case surely can mention of her indicate the provenience of such verses. Would

¹ Although Mr. Rand believes one might rather reason that France is not the author's country, but a land idealized and remote. "*Persarum vigui rege beatior* was not written by a Persian."

it have been just tactful, or safe, in either song to have chosen in her place some German princess? But again, as before, we meet in No. 51 turns of expression which may speak for Germany. The girl is described as *prudens*, which is *klug*, and *gracilis*, which is *schlank*; she is *pulchrior lilio vel rosa*, which is simpler and more direct than the customary *rosa rubicundior*, *lilio candidior* (136) or *nivei candoris*, *rosei ruboris* (118). The world is well lost for her, even the queen of France.¹ Death impends if she does not cure him by a kiss, as ever in the *volkslied* where *mund* conveniently rhymes with *gesund*.² It does not seem hardy to believe the germ of much of this song is a *volkslied*, however much Latinized the remainder of the song may be. We should not perhaps be overready to translate Latin songs back into German popular diction in order to establish a close connection between them, but on the other hand we must not studiously avoid the thickening traces of this diction which is now to meet our eyes, simply because it is found in Latin lyrics.

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¹ Who reads these lines without thinking of the 'vieille chanson' quoted by Alceste in *Le Misanthrope*?—

Si le roi m'avait donné
Paris sa grand' ville,
Et qu'il me fallût quitter
L'amour de ma mie,
Je dirais au roi Henri:
"Reprenez votre Paris.
J'aime mieux ma mie, o gué!
J'aime mieux ma mie!"

although this thought is one of the commonplaces of mediaeval poetry; cf. Diez, *Poesie der Troubadours* (1883)², p. 217, who quotes instances from Provençal, French, and Italian, as well as from German.

² Cf. also *Carmina burana*, Nos. 42, 102, 136a.

Modern Philology

VOL. VI

October, 1908

No. 2

MEDIAEVAL LATIN LYRICS

PART III

GOLIARD LYRICS AND POPULAR LYRICS

The richest anthology of mediaeval Latin songs, the *Carmina burana*, has been very generally assigned to the goliards. This is unwarrantable. There is no evidence either external or internal to lead us to suspect goliardic origin for much of the colorful musicality of these erotic lyrics. The cause for the mistake is not, however, far to seek.

Since the epoch-making article of Giesebrecht it has been commonly believed that there once existed a sodality of wandering students, or, what amounts to the same thing, that all the discoverable body of Latin lyric poetry during the Middle Ages was written by a cultured, clerical stripe of people who were in the main subject to similar social and literary traditions. With this false belief in mind, Hubatsch therefore follows out the characteristics which separate goliard poetry, on the one hand from vernacular poetry (that of the *jongleur* and the *spielmann*), on the other hand from ecclesiastical poetry, and gains criteria which are worth little or nothing, because they are only half the truth. Half the truth, since his conclusions are correct for only part of the material he is studying, for the songs of the wandering students which cling to classical and churchly molds and formulae. For such a song as No. 88 which we have just studied at

length, for Latin lyrics which reflect simple *volkslieder*, Hubatsch's conclusions are wrong.¹

Let us drive a nail here quickly. Hubatsch says:

By their profession the goliards were on the same plane with the *jongleurs* and the *spielleute*; they were to the clergy what the latter were to the laymen. But the goliard felt himself quite another person than the *jongleur*; at all events outward circumstances placed a deep gulf between them. With but few exceptions the *jongleur* and *spielmann* were considered outlaws, while the goliard possessed his clerical privileges, which gave him important advantages over others, besides which as a scholar he contrasted with the singer who lacked a learned culture. The goliards are *virī literatī* and wish to consort only with *virīs literatīs*. This exclusive adherence to a formal culture permeates all their poetry and forms a sharp contrast between it and that of the laity. Diction and content, comparisons, figures of speech, poetic mythology, the whole manner of expression in their poems is fundamentally different from that of the lay poet.

Now let us choose a simple Latin dance-song from the *Carmina burana* and see what becomes of the *virī literatī*.

Ver rediv optatum
Cum gaudio,
Flore decoratum
Purpureo,
Aves edunt cantus
Quam dulciter,
Revirescit nemus,
Cantus est amoenus
Totaliter.

Juvenes ut flores
Accipiant,
Et se per odores
Reficiant,
Virgines assumant
Alacriter,
Et eant in prata
Floribus ornata
Communiter.

¹This failure to differentiate between learned and unlearned Latin poetry has caused confusion from the beginning. Scherer and Wackernagel were right in asserting that the flourishing Latin poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries harked back to an earlier period of bloom when the knowledge of this language was widely disseminated (cf. Scherer, *Gesch. d. deut. Dichtung im xi. u. xii. Jhdt.*, p. 5; *Anzeiger f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. I, p. 202; Wackernagel, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, p. 70; Ebert, *Allgem. Gesch. d. Lit. des Mittelalters*, Vol. III, p. 347: "The Latin songs of the Cambridge MS because of the popular character of their themes and their form show how far into the background the native language was crowded in the cultured circles of Germany at that time"). Scherer could thus assume that the songs of the wandering students had in Germany a long time of preparation behind them. It was likewise right for him to say that under the Salic emperors the understanding of Latin greatly diminished among laymen and that the Latin lyric practically disappeared from conscious literature until it was reawakened through the indirect influence of the French schools. But immediately thereafter to remark with Scherer and Laistner (*Goliard*, p. 99) that mediaeval Latin love-poetry preceded that of Germany, northern France, and Provence, that the *Carmina burana* are nearer folk-poetry than the songs of any other old German manuscript—this is to deal with matters *en bloc* when the only possible helpfulness of treatment lies in discerning analysis of them.

We have here a song that is taken almost word for word from vernacular lays. R. M. Meyer has brought together from Neidhart a suggestive list of poetical phrases which indicate with certainty the sort of source we must seek for such Latin strophes. Not that they are taken from Neidhart—far from it! But some Latin *minnesang* like some German *minnesang* is derived from a common basis: the lyric *volkslied*.¹

A narrow examination of the lyric pieces of the *Carmina burana*, those poems, I mean, which deal with spring and love and wine, will convince us that only occasionally are they songs that have been written down free-hand in answer to the call of the moment that held the poet in its grasp. They are rather suggestive of a score of different things which served directly as models for composition: church-hymns, sometimes, and school poems; classical verses excerpted from some favorite anthology,² or *volkslieder* known from childhood. Thus, nature introductions as naïve as any in popular song nestle close to labored expositions of the *vis naturae* and to mythological personifications taught in the grammar schools. This teaches us that only seldom were these lyric pieces composed by *al fresco* poets who moved sturdily and

¹ R. M. Meyer (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 224) says: "There exists an important interrelationship between German folk-poetry and the pieces of the wandering students. The *vagi* were after all children of the people and had grown up among the games and dances of their home. With equal certainty we must assume an influence of *volkslieder* upon the goliard songs and vice versa." For a more general development of the same statement cf. Schneider, *Das musikalische Lied in geschichtlicher Entwicklung* (1863), Vol. I, pp. 193 ff., "Die Fahrenden als Vermittler zwischen Volkslied und Kunstlied."

² So much has been made of the contrast between the present age, when the literary productions of widely separated times and peoples surround us in such immeasurable abundance, and the Middle Ages, when oral transmission by way of priest and minstrel was practically the sole source of spiritual nourishment for him who sought after culture, that we are apt to give too little weight to the part played by books and school texts during the "dark" and "middle" centuries. Anthologies and MSS of *excerpta* and *exempla* bound the past to the Middle Ages as firmly, if not as clearly, as printed books bind it to us, and there is no more need of assuming continuity of oral tradition when we find a mediaeval poem derived from an earlier source than there is to assume the same thing when we discover Jonson's *Song to Celia* to be the reworking of phrases in a sophist's love-letter. Laukhardt's "beautiful song *Ecce quam bonum* brayed forth on the street to the vast joy of the Giessen nymphs" (*Laukhardts . . . Leben und Schicksale* [1792], Vol. I, p. 96; *Annalen der Universität Schilda* [1798], Vol. I, p. 86) is due of course to the chance reawakening of a forgotten ninth-century hymn (Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* [1853], Vol. I, pp. 393 f.) and not to the parodying of one which had been sung during the intervening nine centuries; Traube has shown that the student song, which Kopp and Schmitz presumed to be written and sung in the Fulda cloister school at some Eastertide during the ninth century, derives from a Roman prototype of the fifth century (*Neues Archiv*, Vol. XXV, pp. 625 f.), but this means simply that a thieving teacher got his verses from a book, not that he had ever heard them sung in his life before he wrote them down.

unconsciously in their Latin medium; it was rather a thing at second hand for most of them. Archpoet and Goliard might utter the *Cum in orbem*, the *Aestuans interius*, and the *Utar contra vitia*, as if they were to the manner born, Walter of Chatillon might tread the stately measures of his *Propter Sion non tacebo* with careless ease, Simon Chèvre d'or and Hugo of Orleans might retell the Fall of Ilium with never a hesitant moment; but the real lyric pieces are of another brood. They are put together of patches and the seams show.¹ Often we may not speak of a song as a whole but must try to divide it into its various parts, to see what underlies it. But while this makes any study of such poems more difficult it frequently gladdens us, for we learn at times that part of it, or perhaps the entire substratum of it, is a *volkslied*. And what an insight we then gain of the men who wrote these songs! A new class of author is apparent in them; one that we should, truly, expect to find in any age except the sort of time scholars have imagined twelfth and thirteenth centuries to be. Not alone *berühmte Professoren* must we add to the goliards as the writers of Latin verse in the Middle Ages, not alone "ecclesiastics, jurists, physicians, and teachers," but, also, the third type of person whom the modern world denominates just "a common, ordinary poet." Not clerks and students were they always, with the Latin learning of their time at their fingers' ends. Often self-taught and barely taught German poets² who lightened the burdens of the day by

¹ No further proof of this important fact is needed than that adduced by R. M. Meyer in his oft-cited article. No. 107 in the *Carmina burana*, for instance, is found to be actually without a single original line to bless itself with, and for other songs in this collection Meyer's remarkable industry has discovered so many parallels both Latin and German that one marvels at their number.

Sometimes a song is nothing more than a cento of lines from other well-known poems. Thus the song *Hac in die rege nato* (*Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX, p. 123) is wholly made up of the initial lines of twenty-six *conductus* poems, as Wilhelm Meyer discovers (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 329).

² Scholars have at times distinguished with some sharpness between the Latin poems such as were in vogue at the great schools of France and the goliard songs: cf. Delisle, *Annuaire bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* (1885), p. 103; Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XX (1895), p. 8; Meyer, *Göttinger Nachrichten* (1907), p. 88. But none of them, so far as I remember, has cared to add a third class of poets to the well-established divisions of noted teachers in the schools and the graceless ne'er-do-wells. This third type of authors we should not seek in any one profession or clan, but among any and all classes of people with sufficient culture to borrow, remake, or sing newly forth a few doggerel stanzas of simplest Latin. Some of these authors, to be sure, must have had a smattering of the Latin of the schools—else they could not have moved in the foreign medium. One cannot exactly

reproducing songs of spring and love. Nor can we call the result ill, for a lightness and sprightliness is not unusual in these songs, a cadence and swing which surprises and takes us captive.

This musicality need not, however, cause us wonder. German poets have at all times caught the secret of it. It is true that certain of the more ostentatious poems in the *Carmina burana* may be part-songs taken from, or based upon, the motet collections of France, with their two and three different systems of musical notation; but it is equally true that certain of the simpler songs are not. They sung themselves as satisfactorily out of the setting of popular mediaeval airs as they do today to the sound of *In der grossen Seestadt Leipzig, Ich bin der Doktor Eisenbart, Prince Eugen der edle Ritter, Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen*. And let us take heed not to ridicule without good cause the plagiarism of these south German poets and call their work cobbling. For they were without exception trying to do what nineteenth-century German poets have done: raise a *volkslied* to the state and condition of accepted artistic verse by incorporating some of it, or some of its diction and figurative utterance at least, in new poems of their own. And the result in both cases has justified the means.

It is doubtless best that at this point I tell what I mean by *volkslied*, a term that from now on I shall have to use with increasing frequency. I do not believe it to be a song composed by a number of people acting in concert (Grimm: "*das Volk dichtet*;" Gummere: "communal song"), nor do I conceive it as a poem sung by the lower classes alone ("people" in the sense of "populace" or "rabble"), nor do I think it necessarily a naïve compound of homely diction which mirrors the simple processes of the unlettered mind (Herder, Bürger, Brentano, and Krejci). A *volkslied* is merely a song which we historically know, or assume, has proven to be very popular.

It is not written by a humble man of the people who dwells aside from the crowded centers of life, although such a song once learned this man may continue it for generations. Impulse to speak of "native woodnotes wild" when a German, say, writes Latin. But except for this there is in certain dainty bits of the *Carmina burana* no hint of either learned or dissolute scholasticism.

authorship is lacking, reserve encases him like a shell. The unlettered and unalert do not achieve poetic coherence and build emotional expression out into even the the simplest art-forms. The unique effectiveness and beauty of German popular balladry is due neither to small and isolated mediaeval communities working mysteriously together in the throes of lyrical composition, nor yet to unimaginitive men inspired to spasmodic effort. For such inspiration did not dwell in the mediaeval environment except stirred crowds gathered, unless the initial impulse be of another world than this and we imagine a succession of German Caedmons whose lips were regularly opened by sense and sight of divinity. If we should find in segregated communities today—the Tennessee mountaineers, for instance—a simple lyric of power and beauty, of mock and humor and suffering, then I could imagine that in days of yore similar submerged processes went forward. But, failing this, there is for me now as ten years ago but one definition of *volkslied*: a song, from whatever source, sung for a long time by all kinds of people.¹

Who would it be that evolved *liedlein* which the people cherished and curiously clung to? Some one artist driven thereto by the spirit of his surroundings. Who would carry them from one countryside to another? Most often and most continuously the minstrel. It would be he who was most desirous to add to his stock from that of other minstrels fresh home from their travels. And he, we may be sure, it was who collected Latin songs as well as German ones, in order that no audience might go away from his singing hungry.

But why should we call this minstrel “goliard”? If we mean by this word a cultured product of the French schools, a finished though degenerate *baccalaureus artium*, we see how wrong its application occasionally is. Such a person did not compose and sing many of the popularizing ballads which we have cited throughout this study, which we are to add to below. But if, on the contrary, we would imply by “goliard” anyone during twelfth and thirteenth centuries who sang Latin dance-couplets modeled on the *reigen* of the village festivals, who indited pastoral

¹ Cf. my discussion of this in *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. III (1899).

songs and *tagelieder*, lovers' parting-songs and ballads of deserted maidens, then we employ a single term too loosely. For it indicates everybody who caroled forth during the Middle Ages a lyric phrase in the *lingua Romana* between the Scotch borders and Sicily.

No. It is best to retain "goliard" in the sense that till now has been generally accepted, viz., a wandering student possessed of a particular sort of training that shone through his songs. And such a one wrote all the amatory stanzas in the MSS of St. Omer and Queen Christine and practically all in the Cambridge MS. But at least a third of the erotic lyrics in the *Carmina burana* betray the work of another sort of person. This we shall now specify with some detail. The clearest way to handle the material, I believe, is to study the analogies and the differences between goliard poems and popular Latin songs in a series of short chapters designed to show forth succinctly the most marked contrasts which they offer: (I) Learned Folk-poetry; (II) Treatment of Love-themes; (III) Treatment of Nature; (IV) Classical and Popular Allusions.¹

I. LEARNED FOLK-POETRY

Once upon a time a critic bethought him of early mediaeval times in Europe and after meditating deeply said: "I know nothing of those ages which mean nothing"—whereupon he turned the searchlight of his mind to more illuminable business. I confess o a similar state of ignorance regarding the specious phrase learned folk-poetry," for it means nothing that I have discovered. This phrase is of course a translation of the German *gelehrte volksdichtung* which is a winged word persistently used by students of the mediaeval Latin lyric and must therefore be reckoned with. I believe its wings should be clipped.

The use of the caption sprang from the following conditions: Goliard poetry is permeated by a learned culture which offers a

¹ Hubatsch has a chapter on the analogies which goliard poetry shows to popular poetry (*Lat. Vagantenlieder*, pp. 41 ff.; cf. also Steinthal, *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie*, Vol. XI [1879], pp. 39 ff.), but he deals only with the longer pieces which are not lyric! He asserts that it would carry him too far to treat of the shorter songs of the wandering students and therefore gravely chooses his material just where it can least be found: in the *Confessio*, the *Utar contra vitia*, and the *Propter Sion*.

sharp contrast to the unclerical or lay songs of the period. Diction and content, comparisons and figures, poetic mythology—the whole manner of expression in these student songs is fundamentally different from those of the lay-poets.¹ But none the less does this learned poetry show a certain kinship to vernacular popular poetry. It borrows freely from, and makes large use of, traditional material, maintains a conventionalized symbolism in thought and expression, crystallizes certain turns of speech into formulae.² It is anonymous, is prone to generalize rather than present the individual view of a certain author, fits therefore the need of the many more than it does the casual exigency of any single class. Finally, it at times exhibits something of the terseness and carelessness of detail which is the hallmark of lyric popular poetry in all ages.

Then was the phrase “learned folk-poetry” begotten to characterize the Latin efforts of the schools which contained here and there a slight alloy of the matter and manner of vernacular lyric verse. As if one should rename some precious metal because of its admixture with an adulterant that gives it currency in commerce. Lyrical alloy veins most of the oldest German epic narratives, as surely as it does the Anglo-Saxon elegiac fragments.³ Many years ago Müllenhoff called attention to the tones of melting tenderness which sound in certain old Norse poems: in the death-greeting which Hialmar sends Ingibiörg (*Hervararsaga*), in the *Völundarquiða*, the conclusion of the second song of Helgi and Sigrun, the opening five stanzas of the third *Sigurdarquiða*, etc.⁴ But if he cited these passages as proof that there was lyricality of expression in the heroic age, he did not coin a phrase for them *in toto* such as “epic *volkslieder*.” For he knew that they were withheld from being lyrics by the unlyric clan-appeal they made and were intended to make upon their auditors.⁵ Nothing in their verse structure or in any externality of manner and meter pre-

¹ Cf. Hubatsch, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

² Hubatsch, *ibid.*, p. 41.

³ Cf. Körting, *Die Anfänge der Renaissance-literatur in Italien* (1884), Part I, pp. 36 f.; Allen, *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 438.

⁴ Cf. Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler* (1892)³, Vol. II, p. 154.

⁵ I believe this point has never been more reasonably or deftly argued than by Mr. Gummere in his “Primitive Poetry and the Ballad,” *Modern Philology*, Vol. I (1903), pp. 221 ff.

vented such songs from being called folk-lyrics; they have color and musicality of rhythm, a soft melancholy and a dreamy romanticism, but epic they remain, ballads they are because of the impersonal, unindividual, communal background that is found in them.

Similarly does one speak of "ecclesiastical folk-songs" (*geistliche volkslieder*). This phrase may serve—I do not care—when a churchman like Luther writes a hymn which encircles the earth and outlasts time; or when *contrafacta hymns* are made by the easy process of word substitution in *Von fernen Landen komm ich her, Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen*,¹ although this latter process generally results in doubtful popularity. But to term ecclesiastical folk-song any of the stilted and metrical Latinization of vernacular lays is again to speak by the book and not by the word of truth.²

Similarly we meet in goliardic poetry of high and low degree occasional muffled suggestions of lyric *volkslieder*. But it is grievous because of this to designate distinctly learned verse "folk-poetry." For, in the nature of things, if poetry is composed in the Latin argot of culture it cannot be widely understood and sung; whereas, if a popular song be taken and overloaded with scholastic niceties it ceases to be popular. In neither case have we what may be called a *volkslied*.

I would accordingly renew the plea already made in this study,³ that zeal be not allowed to run off with reason, that we do not

¹ Cf. for instance Budde, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Vol. LXXIII, p. 482.

² Many another churchman in the Middle Ages followed the example of Thomas of York who never heard a popular secular song or ballad sung by the minstrels that he did not immediately compose a sacred parody on the words: "Si quis in auditu ejus arte joculariora aliquid vocale sonaret, statim illud in divinas laudes effigiabat," *Biog. Lit.*, p. 25. One Frenchman took such an interest in vernacular songs and Latin parodies of them that he based his sermo de sancta Maria on the ballad *Bele Aliz matin leva*, and in the course of his homily quotes the couplet:

sicut lilium inter spinas,
sic amica mea inter filias.

P. Meyer, *Romania*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 501. Many a Latin sermon relies for its interest, its theme, or its illustrative material upon popular diction, proverbial wit, vernacular songs, etc. I may take space perhaps for another instance:

"Exemplum de clerico quodam de quo narratur quod, cum esset Parisius ad fenestram et audiret cantilenam in vico, in qua dicebatur

Li tens s'en veit
Et je n'ei riens fait;
Li tens revient
Et je ne fais riens

primo coepit cogitare cantus dulcedinem, etc."—Hauréau, Vol. III, p. 341.

³ Cf. *supra*, Part I, p. 40.

refer to the school-poetry of the goliards as popular verse, but retain the latter rubric for "lewd" and unlettered couplets wherever they occur. In a few songs of the *Carmina burana* we have popularizing lyrics of such transparent lightness throughout; but more frequently by far we have this popular phrase or that *volkslied*-stanza inserted or appended where all the rest of the Latin poem is learned and unyielding. In such a case this alloy-material is to be regarded as simply the salt that savors, not as the yeast that leavens the whole lump so that it becomes "learned folk-poetry." Like alloy, it remains the intruder, and merely testifies interestingly to the fact that where we find learned poems constantly and almost unconsciously refreshing themselves at the well-spring of popular-song, there we have certain evidence that there floated everywhere about, like thistledown, German *volkslieder* and Latin stanzas of a similar sort, ready for the using.

Since Richard M. Meyer's genial listing of the popular phrases which shine out of the Latin lyrics in the *Carmina burana* there is happily no reason to burden our page with the lumber of much evidence,¹ but one of several illustrations not given by him may be permitted me, to show how a popular stanza would worm its way in where ordinarily it would be least expected.

After the manner of the goliards some wandering student has taken a French (or Italian) pastoral and "refined" it. Here and there the lightness of the original shimmers, but the effect of the whole is stilted and in no sense popular:

Vere dulci mediante,
 Non in Maio, paulo ante,
 Luce solis radiante
 Virgo vultu elegante
 Fronde stabat sub vernante
 Canens cum cicuta.
 Illuc veni fato dante.
 Nympha non est formae tantæ,
 Aequipollens ejus plantæ,
 Quae me viso festinante
 Grege fugit cum balante
 Metu dissoluta.²

¹ Cf. the oft-cited article, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXIX.

² *Carmina burana*, No. 120.

Now mediaeval maidens are beaten always, so the story of folk-song goes,¹ if they be discovered with an unknown lover; and therefore our "nymph" is terrified. But in this instance she does not express her fear in a fashion that may be called foreign to the district of Benedictbeuern; she speaks good German: "Wenn's der Vater wüsste oder Martin gar, der ältere Bruder, so würde das mir ein schwarzer Tag sein . . . usw."

Si senserit meus pater
Vel Martinus major frater,
Erit mihi dies ater;
Vel si sciret mea mater,
Cum sit angue pejor quater,
Virgis sum tributa.²

II. TREATMENT OF LOVE THEMES

The goliard lyric deals with the passion of love in a way that is esteemed brutal. Desire for the quick and physical possession of the beloved object is often stated with a boldness of diction that borders on what we feel to be prurieny.³

¹ Cf. *Carmina burana*, No. 52: Sunt parentes mihi saevi; mater longioris aevi irascetur pro re levi (So slüege mich diu muoter mîn, das waere mir lihte zorn; Uhland, Vol. IV³, p. 225); Du Méril (1847), p. 229: Mater est inhumana; regrediar, ni feriar materna virgula (Ich will nicht mit euch gahn, mein Vater würde mich schelten, meine Mutter würde mich schla'n; Uhland, Vol. III³, p. 275); Jeanroy, *Origines*², p. 195; Heider, *Untersuchungen zur mittellenglischen erotischen Lyrik* (1905), pp. 53 f.; Nicholson, *Old German Love Songs*, p. 127; Neidhart and his fellow-poets tell how the buoyant daughter is ever chided by her mother; Uhland, Vol. III, p. 276.

² This stanza has ever sounded German in my ears because of the girl's platitudinous and unblushing directness. National style read through the mask of Latin is often no safe criterion, but sometimes it convinces. Hauréau believes one song (No. 65) Italian chiefly because of this: "Ce cachet n'est pas simplement la grâce; c'est encore la grâce italienne, aux agaceries voluptueuses, celle qui distingue les fantaisies littéraires de Boccace et de l'Arioste comme les vivantes peintures du Corrège et de Giorgion." Cf. also Huet, *Romania*, Vol. XXII (1893), p. 536, and Santangelo, *Studio sulla poesia goliardica*, pp. 82 ff., and the tenets of Winterfeld on *heimatkunst* discussed below in the chapter on drinking-songs. Symonds writes in his *Wine, Women, and Song* (p. 30): "The *Carmina burana*, by their frequent references to linden-trees and nightingales and their numerous German refrains, indicate a German home for the poems on spring and love, in which they are specially rich. The more I study the songs of love and wine in this codex, the more convinced am I that they have their origin for the most part in South-Western Germany, the Bodensee, and Elsass."

³ This fact was conditioned partly no doubt by the foreign medium in which the poet sang. Hubatsch says (*Lat. Vagantenlieder*, p. 19): "If in the vernacular songs the poet's words echoed warmly in every heart, the Latin author had to appeal to the reason of his auditor who was translating what he heard into his mother-tongue. The restriction of the poet's vocabulary made him coarser in expression, permitted him to say things without veiling them; he is plainer, more forcible, less considerate than the courtly poet."

I shall not say what constitutes chastity in literary expression by what standard we should measure it. To assert dogmatically that this is pure and that impure is ordinarily but to convict ourselves of being provincial, or at least philistine. Winterfeld suggests that modern poetesses of naturalism have quite equaled in frankness that Heloise whom they cannot forgive for preferring to be *Abailardi scortum et meretrix* rather than empress.¹ And I remember, after perusing certain novelettes and plays of *Grün-* and *Jüngstdeutschland*, that the most boisterous eighteenth-century English stories were penetrated by gales of fresh air, that the Elizabethan drama was fain to stop without the bedroom door. In the Benedictbeuern MS there is no Goethean *Tagebuch* with its recalcitrant Meister Iste, no Venetian epigram: "Hab ich als mädchen sie satt, dient sie als knabe mir noch." The sole sodomitic song in our codex spends itself in earnestly denying the guilt of its author.

There would be small reason, however, to raise, still less continue, discussion of this unsavory theme, if it were not that the materialism of the goliard songs appears in curious contrast to the almost finical reserve of the so-called *frauenlieder* of early *minnesang*,² with the Kürenberg women-strophes, with verses of Meinloh of Seflingen and of the Burggraf of Regensburg.³

Now this difference in attitude may mean any of three things: (1) that men wrote the Latin songs, women composed the German ones; (2) that the goliards were morally oblique, the German poets of spiritual mold; (3) that the two sets of authors were subservient to different literary conventions. Let us see.

¹ Cf. *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV, p. 44, where Winterfeld draws an effective picture of the life of Irmgard von Hammerstein.

² One argument which has often been used to negate woman's authorship of lyric verses can scarcely be applied here. This is the assertion that no woman would give public expression to her love for a member of the sterner sex, as this would necessarily expose her to ridicule and social distress; cf., e. g., von Wilamowitz, *Göttinger Nachrichten* (1896), p. 225, note 2; Winterfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 28. This of course would be only true, (1) if the author's name became known, (2) if the sentiments expressed were believed to be the direct outgrowth of the mood of the writer, and not as commonly in poetry the more or less conventionalized treatment of a tender theme. Moreover, hasty generalizations as to the etiquette forbidding female authorship are often invalid because one age or one given usage does not furnish necessary analogy to other times and other views.

³ "On the part of the clerk sensuality, frivolity, an overbrimming pagan joy in life," says Scherer when discussing "der junge Spervogel" (*Deutsche Studien*, p. 7), "on the part of the layman moral earnestness and Christian sobriety." Again (p. 68) Scherer speaks of the secret revelations of a tender soul-life current in early *minnesang*.

More than forty years ago Müllenhoff asserted that the Kürenberg strophes were undeniably written by women, and Scherer thereafter announced that we might believe women alone capable of the profounder sentiments of love found in the earlier love-poetry of Germany.¹ These statements, which for some time have been regarded by scholars with apathy, if not distrust, have received fresh impetus at the hands of Breysig.² There are several reasons for assigning the authorship of such pieces to the other sex: (a) the testimony of chronicles and council decrees; (b) such evidence as we gain from *artes dictamini* and epistolary guides; (c) statements made in the poem itself; (d) a belief that in times of violence and rudeness the tenderest tones should be considered feminine. The first testimony (a), gathered as it is quite exclusively from other times and districts than the one under consideration and therefore without necessary application to the period we are dealing with, should be given no weight.³ The next contention (b) is equally invalid, for popular as we know "compendiums for letter-writers" and "rhymsters" to have been in the Middle Ages, we should still hesitate to accept the purely typical figures of women authors that we find in them as derived from real life. Their source appears more naturally to rest in the rhetorical subtleties of the schools which made so much of them.⁴ Third (c), there is

¹ Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler* (1863); cf. *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Vol. XVI, pp. 267 ff.; Vol. XXXI, pp. 488 ff.; *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 561 ff.; *Deutsche Studien* (1891)², pp. 69, 77 f.; *Gesch. d. d. Dichtung im xi. u. xii. Jhdt.*, p. 72. Kögel (*Pauls Grundriss*², Vol. II, p. 179) says: "Yearning for the absent love, grief at estrangement from him, find in these songs such simple and natural expression that one might decide for feminine authorship, did not the poets of this time in very similar pieces expressly introduce the woman as first speaker, and did not Kürenberger himself now and then betray the man's point of view in his portrayal of woman's emotions." Nor must we forget that "pathos was a strong solvent in the Middle Ages . . . when the world was full of ideals and fantasies" (Ker, *Essays on Mediaeval Literature* [1905], p. 17), and so be not misled by the Kürenberg songs as we come to them perhaps straight from our study of the preceding epic literature which bristles with swords and battle-axes.

² Cf. *Die Zukunft* (1903), No. 27, in which Breysig utilizes the chaplain Andreas' *Tractatus de amore et amoris remediis* (written about 1170-85), and *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. I (1903), pp. 18 ff.: "the noble lady of the period knew how to read and write love-letters, a faculty that was probably often beyond the reach of her lover. But that the woman was first to begin striving to perfect sentiment and demeanor finds its reason in her innermost being, etc." General statements of this stripe based upon arbitrary psychological assumption cannot prove that women definitely composed certain poems.

³ Cf. *Denkmäler* (1892)³, Vol. II, pp. 154 f.

⁴ A case in point is furnished by the partially rhymed love-letter of Tegernsee which ends in quoting "Du bist min, ich bin din" (cf. *Minnesangs Frühling* (1888)⁴, pp. 221 ff.). Here we meet the situation which is such a commonplace in mediaeval poetry: a woman hesitates

no occasion to trust the autobiographic value of poetic utterance unless we have the added support of other knowledge regarding its author.¹ And the last point (*d*), because it may never be proven by any, is only assertive and quite without scientific warrant.²

Viewed from the standpoint of their songs alone, we have then no good reason to suppose the goliards more depraved than the minnesingers, unless we would regard their poetry as a matter of personal sincerity and not one of conventional pose,³ unless we see fit to assert that their verses are "instantaneous photographs of immediate experience." But if we wish to raise our eyebrows over Astrophel's Stella, if we would make flesh and blood of Shakespeare's Dark Lady, there is none to forbid our doing the like with the punks and drabs of goliard tradition.⁴

between a soldier and a clerk as lover; cf., e. g., Matthew of Vendôme, *Epistolae*, II, 1 and 2 (Wattenbach, *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad.* (1872), pp. 594 ff.); Love-Council of Remiremont (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. VII, p. 160); the debate between Phyllis and Flora (*Carmina burana*, No. 65), *Frigidum est horridum* (*ibid.*, No. 55), and the two French songs cited by Hubatsch (*Lat. Vagantenlieder*, pp. 28 f.). A mere glance at any of these passages does away with the theory that women really wrote this style of thing: it is all the purest casuistry. Matthew's lady, for instance, denies that physical beauty precludes chastity, acknowledges that she desires to marry, hints that she cares to be no one's paramour, but is of the opinion that if she does consent to a liaison it will be a layman and no clerk who profits by it. Insincere this is, of course, but necessarily no more so than the pose of that other Tegernsee lady who makes a love-billet of a *schnaderhüpfel*. The "du bist min" couplet need not be the work of a woman. Its sentiment is no more real than the device wrapped about any bonbon, than the motto printed in red on a peppermint heart. This children's party sort of jingle, "locked thou art within my heart, and I have lost the key," scholars have found tender and artless to a degree—and therefore feminine. It may be. But I had always imagined such things as "honey is sweet and so are you" gotten up by a designing confectioner to sell his sugar.

¹The argument from lyric to life and then from life right back to lyric is a famous *circulus vitiosus*. The fray will never end, for on the one side stand those extremists who trust any record of the past which they would never think of believing in the present—a lyric record for example; on the other side are ranged the literal people who are taught to view with suspicion any exercise of the imagination whatsoever. Midground is taken by Burdach in his reasonable analysis of Walther's lyrics; his argument should be examined with some care by anyone interested in this general topic (cf. his *Walther v. d. V.* [1900], pp. 29 ff.).

²Mr. Manly reminds me of Skeat's pronouncement that the Nutbrown Maid was the product of a woman's art, despite the concluding lines.

³Even another source of our 'knowledge' in the matter of the 'brutish' poetry assigned to the goliards is not thoroughly trustworthy: the synodical decrees, the church historians, and the capitularies dictated by priests and monks. For these have an evident personal bias and a forced bitterness of denunciation that stamps them as the result of party clamor and ascetic dogmatism. If we believe such a diatribe as the *De contemptu mundi* of Bernard of Morlaix to be the mirror of the society of his age, then (and only then) can we put faith in much of the vituperation against the wandering students.

⁴Symonds could not refrain from rapping the goliards for their fancied sins. He says (*Wine, Women and Song*, p. 174): "The love of Tristram for Iseult, of Lancelot for

Suppose for the time being we admit these highly colored smudges to be true, then we must grant the like of the *edelfrauen* of *minnesang*. This wife, never the poet's own, the courtly author pictures for us according to a set of carefully laid down rules; he varies from the prescription given him as little as does your modern registered pharmacist.¹ She is wholly bound by convention. Nor is this strange, for German *minnesang* was from its first inception not folk-poetry but the class-poetry of

Guinevere, of Beaumains for his lady, is alien to the goliardic conception of intersexual relations. Nowhere do we find a trace of Arthur's vow imposed upon his knights: never to do outrage, and always to do ladies, damsels, and gentlewomen succour upon pain of death. This manly respect for women, which was, if not precisely the purest, yet certainly the most fruitful social impulse of the Middle Ages, receives no expression in the *Carmina vagorum*.

"The reason is not far to seek. The clerici were a class debarred from domesticity, devoted in theory to celibacy. In practice incapable of marriage, they were not so much unsocial or anti-social as extra-social; and while they gave a loose rein to their appetites, they respected none of those ties, anticipated none of those home pleasures, which consecrate the animal desires in everyday existence as we know it. One of their most popular poems is a brutal monastic diatribe on matrimony, fouler in its stupid abuse of women, more unmanly in its sordid imputations, than any satire which emanated from the corruption of imperial Rome."

If these remarks were only those of a single admirable and intrepid critic they might be passed over unheeded, but they present the general view; the view at least of all who read directly from mediaeval poetry to mediaeval social life. Symonds finds "the most fruitful social impulse" of a time in the woman worship of its romances; he finds in the goliards, on the contrary, "the cynicism which emerges in the lyrics of triumphant seducers and light lovers." If we should read modern records of this kind with equal seriousness, how strange would oftentimes be our deduction. No bay tree has ever flourished as do in these parlous days two sets of romances: the swashbuckling tale of the chaste youth who flies to the aid of distressed womanhood and thereby wins to wife wealth, rank, and beauty; the *chronique scandaleuse* of sensuality and degraded passion. These are our "Arthur" stories, our "goliard" songs. But they do not cut deep into our life, nor do they mirror it. Such "best sellers" are a species of vegetable growth and their roots are not watered by the blood that gives us strength. They do not wring our withers. They do not clothe our ideals. *Rollwagenbüchlein* are they, "train literature" to induce forgetfulness between stations or make possible slumber under the adverse conditions which govern hotel and sleeping-car. We enjoy them most when they do not in any way remind us of a life we have led or care to dream of leading.

I will not say that this was just the mediaeval state of mind toward all its romances and its naked literature of love. I do not know. But it is certainly as reasonable to believe twelfth-century men and women unharried by many fourth-rate courtly romances and "poems of passion" as we are.

¹ The portrait of the lady can be secured either by first-hand study of the poems themselves or more conveniently from such repertoria as Rosières, *Histoire de la société française au moyen âge* (1880), Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesänger* (1889)². The following sketch is adapted from Breysig, *Archiv f. Kulturgesch.*, Vol. I, p. 21: The lady of course is always fair and of inviolate breeding, she walks with slow and mincing step, "gestreichet als ein velkelin, dem sin gefider eben lit," she must keep her gaze lowered, not be seen abroad unless muffled in a cloak, not swing her arms or gather her skirts about her. She must not cross her legs when she sits, she may smile but never laugh or speak loudly. Even when riding she must hide her hands under her garment. She may not address a strange man, but is to rise whenever he enters the room. And so on. One might believe himself in the drawing-room of a modern finishing school.

court and "society." Even before it became a fixed and fast literary mold, even if it derived at the beginning largely from a precedent popular native lyric and did not take its rise in Latin or Provençal or French or oriental writing, it yet breathed forth the new breath in literature of a devoted and soulful love. As platonic affection had its origin in the neo-platonism of the Italian renaissance, as anacreontic love is the reflex of an idyllic poetry revived from the pastorals of Theocritus and Anacreon, so—of course—the faithful swain and his finical lady were the result throughout twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe of chivalry and the crusades.

Lyrical convention thus holds court poet and goliard alike, and each sings a little as the spirit moves him, but mostly within given and definite bounds. Except for an occasional piece here and there—and they are comparatively few in number—our hearts need not be troubled by this vivid epicureanism. It is not *flammen*, it is *poesie*. Certain Latin lyrical ballads, certain longer musical narratives show forth a glory and a ruthless abandonment of self that one is not accustomed to look for in Europe anywhere before the fourteenth century. They are big, they have effrontery, and preach pleasant surrender to the world without conscience and without qualm. They are "pagan," if you will. But this love for the detail of physical beauty, of woman's fleshly charm, is much more apt to be a direct inheritance from classical tradition than a newborn voluptuousness. In his *Planctus naturae* Alanus of Lille describes the goddess as follows:¹

She is a virgin whose hair radiant with a peculiar brightness seems to invest her head with a starry halo. Her broad projecting forehead vies in color with the lily, her brows preserve a golden mean between luxuriance and sparseness, the soft serenity of her eyes with their benign glance resembles a double-star. Her nose is neither too depressed nor does it jut forth unduly, her mouth breathes sweet fragrance, her lips with their gentle swelling invite kisses, her teeth are ivory. A rosy glow is on her cheeks, her chin is crystal-smooth her throat is not slender nor yet short, her breasts display the gracefulness of youth, her arms incite embraces, the temperate curving of her hips completes the beauty of her figure.

¹ I quote from Francke, *Zur Gesch. d. lat. Schulpoesie*, p. 31. Read also what he has to say of similar passages from Nigel Wireker and Geoffrey of Vinesauf.

Here is the conventionalized formula for woman's beauty in the school-poem; plodding investigation of her parts from tip to toe. Churchmen, as we have seen, avoided the imputation of carnal longing by adding to their verses imagery gained from hymns to the Virgin and by taking refuge in phrases borrowed from the canticles and Prudentius; the goliards clung rather to Ovid¹ and sought to give their feminine lay-figure the color of truth by variation on the original model. The thread of it all, however, is in the classics, as are the omnipresent palace-descriptions of one kind and another, the portrayal of the goddesses Fame and Fortune,² etc.

The new thing that the goliards brought to this sort of school-poetry, a thing that gave life and the air of realism to it, that infused it with human warmth and sympathy was *song*. The greater poems existent at the French schools were narratives, with epic diffuseness of detail, made to be declaimed, prepared with elaborate labor, and spiced with subtle allusion for a learned audience. But the goliards with wares to sell set their store by clarity and simpler phrasing. Stolen hymns and folk-tunes furnished the musical background into which their words must fit, and the end of the story must come before breath and auditors were quite gone. Music, therefore, together with the changed nature of the audience to which they catered on their travels, accounts, I believe, for the broader colors in which woman was painted in the goliard songs, quite as much as a superadded lustfulness of spirit.

It is the accepted convention in all goliardic poetry first as last that men and maids are gifted with an omnipresent animalism:

Si puer cum puellula
Moraretur in cellula,

¹ For suggestive reference to Ovid's influence upon school-poetry, cf. Bartsch, *Albrecht von Halberstadt und Ovid im Mittelalter* (1861); Heinrich, *Quatenus carminum Buranorum auctores veterum Romanorum poetas imitati sunt* (1882); Paris, *Chrétien Legouais et les autres traducteurs ou imitateurs d'Ovide* (in *Hist. litt. de la France*, Vol. XXIX. (1885), pp. 455-525, cf. also his *La poésie du moyen âge* (1887), pp. 189 ff.; Wattenbach, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXXIV (1890), pp. 270 ff.; Vol. XVIII (1875), pp. 124 ff.; Reichling, *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica*, Vol. XII (1893), pp. xix, xxvii; Manitius, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ovidius im Mittelalter" (*Philologus*, supplementary Vol. VII (1899), pp. 721-58). See Brandt, *De Arte amatoria libri tres* (1902), p. 204; Pascal, "I carmi medievali attribuiti ad Ovidio," *Poesia latina medievale* (1907), pp. 91-146; other titles may be found in Sandys' *History of Class. Scholarship* (1905), pp. 614 ff.

² Cf. Francke, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f. A convenient collection of classical instances may now be found in Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame* (Chaucer Society, 1907).

Felix conjunctio
 Amore succrescente
 Prodit e medio:
 Fit ludus ineffabilis
 Membris lacertis labiis.¹

Not only is this true in those pieces which offer us a bald and unvarnished presentation of facts, but also in the slighter poems which content themselves with a delicate suggestiveness. Under the thin veneer of platonic affection and playfulness which masks Latin songs modeled on French pastourelles we read clearly the same materialism:

Quae respondet verbo brevi
 "Ludos viri non assuevi;
 Sunt parentes mihi saevi:
 Mater longioris aevi
 Irascetur pro re levi:—
 Parce nunc in hora!"²

But apart from goliard poetry and from vernacular court-poetry we discover in certain Latin lyrics of a more popular sort an entirely different treatment of the theme of love than any we have yet discussed. I shall not call it necessarily more "chaste," nor sometimes perhaps less artificial, than the other two sorts. Still, the attitude such lyrics maintain toward the communion of the sexes is colored neither by sensuality nor by the forced abstemiousness of chivalrous lovers. In these popularizing Latin songs love is a thing in the world like the air and the sky and springtime, *weiter nichts*. One does not hold disquisitions as to its essence, nor does one stop particularly to apostrophize it. Why should one?

¹ *Carmina burana*, No. 144; *Gaudeamus*, p. 116; Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song*, p. 117.

² Symonds catches the note of this in his translation:

But the girl made answer then:
 "Never played I yet with men;
 Cruel to me are my kin:
 My old mother scolds me when
 In some little thing I stray;—
 Hold, I prithee sir, today!"

Other notable instances of this suggestive platonism are Nos. 63, 119, 120, and particularly 61 with its uncomfortable stanza:

Ludo cum virginibus,
 Horreo corruptas,
 Et cum meretricibus
 Simul odi nuptas;
 Nam in istis talibus
 Turpis est voluptas.

If the macaronic pastourelles, Nos. 145 and 146, seem more indecent than this, the difference is one of expression and not one of fact.

And this attitude we must call popular, for it springs from neither monastery, school, sodality of students, nor from knightly convention. It comes from the *volkslied*, or at least from the more humble and racial art which is largely untroubled by the cosmopolitan impulses which are influencing the cultured poetry of the favored classes.

We have already spoken of the admirable simplicity of a stanza of No. 51; other examples of such effective directness can be found in sufficient abundance in our manuscript. I can cite but a few:

Amaveram prae ceteris
Te, sed amici veteris
Es jam oblita, superis
Vel inferis
Ream te criminamur. (No. 35.)

Naught may better illustrate the mosaic art of goliard poetry than the presence of such jeweled verses as these in the learned and artificial environment of a piece like *Captus amore gravi*.

Fronde nemus induitur,
Jam canit philomena,
Cum variis coloribus
Jam prata sunt amoena.
Spatiari dulce est
Per loca nemorosa;
Dulcius est carpere
Jam lilium cum rosa;
Dulcissimum est ludere
Cum virgine formosa.¹ (No. 103.)

Floret silva nobilis
Floribus et foliis.
Ubi est antiquus
Meus amicus?
Hinc equitavit,
Eia!
Quis me amabit? (No. 112.)

¹ The last six lines of this stanza were apparently quite popular for we meet them often in one form and another, e. g.:

Dulce cum sodalibus
Sapit vinum bonum;
Osculari virgines
Dulcius est donum;
Donum est dulcissimum
Lyra seu Maronem.

— *Gaudeamus*, p. 74; *Ubi sunt*, p. 64.

Veris dulcis in tempore
 Florenti stat sub arbore
 Juliana cum sorore.
 Dulcis amor!
 Qui te caret hoc tempore
 Fit vilior.
 Si tenerem quam capio
 In nemore sub folio,
 Oscularer cum gaudio. (No. 121.)

Love treated in this everyday manner, I say, comes from the *volkslied*. I do *not* say that such lays as these just printed were themselves popular songs, or that they are plaster casts made from any particular *volkslied*. On the other hand, I do not contend that any particular popular song on which we can or cannot lay our hands comes directly from one of these Latin spring-poems. I view unmoved the fact that No. 112 is followed in the Benedict-beuern MS by a German song almost its counterpart:

Gruonet der walt allenthalben:
 Wa ist min geselle alselange?
 Der ist geritten hinnen,
 Owi, wer sol mich minnen!

Nor should I try to establish any empirical law based upon a like resemblance between other Latin and German pieces such as Nos. 115, 115a:

Aestas non apparuit
 Praeteritis temporibus
 Quae sic clara fuerit;
 Ornantur prata floribus,
 Aves nunc in silva canunt
 Et canendo dulce garriunt.
 Ich gesach den sumer nie,
 Daz er so schone duhte mich:
 Mit menigen blumen wol getan
 Diu heide hat gecieret sih,
 Sanges ist der walt so vol,
 Diu zit diu tut den ehleinen vogelen wol.

Correspondences in meter and theme, verbal identity even, are not always safe criteria in the study of this perplexing codex, if we insist on developing the theory that the Latin poems were neces-

sarily either the models or the copies of the German pieces. One thesis was upheld by Martin, the other by Bartsch, Scherer, Burdach, Becker, and Wallensköld.¹ Both contentions, however, break down because the evidence is at once insufficient and contradictory. But we may learn from the presence of popularizing Latin lyrics in the *Carmina burana* that a German lyric existed before *minnesang* and that it was paralleled and preceded by a Latin lyric.

III. TREATMENT OF NATURE

Some years ago Marold gave currency to a tale which takes rank with the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the brothers Grimm. For the lack of a better title it may be called "Wie die Deutschen auszogen den natursinn zu lernen." It runs as follows:

Older German poetry offers astonishingly little expression of feeling for nature and exhibits small inclination to poetic imagery. In these respects the Germans won but gradually a greater freedom of spirit and not till the twelfth century do we find a total change. At this epoch there began to be felt an increased necessity for the poetic adornment of life and connected with this there must be, of course, a greater attention paid to nature, the phenomena of which had ever exercised an attraction for minds that were poetically inclined. There was, besides, the example of the western neighbors and of Latin poetry, which like the Latin language we know possessed international importance during the Middle Ages. Now people remembered in Germany, emboldened by such example, that in their own home, as well, hearts were beating higher when spring and its gifts were celebrated, that surely enough old popular-rhymes were still current which extolled the change of seasons. And in Germany, too, sentiment for nature was united with other emotions of the heart, especially with love.²

I have given this long quotation from Marold in no spirit of mockery, but because it seems to me inherently no more untrue in its mechanical literalness than the directly opposite view-point which discovers *à la* Biese living significance and deep spiritual meaning in every tag of threadbare nature-formalism used by

¹ Cf. Martin, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XX (1876), pp. 46-69; Bartsch, *Deutsche Lieder-dichter des xii. bis xiv. Jahrhunderts* (1864); Scherer, *Deutsche Studien* (1874), No. II; Burdach, *Reinmar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide* (1880); Becker, *Der altheimische Minnesang* (1882); Wallensköld, *Helsingfors mémoires*, Vol. I (1893), pp. 71 ff.

² Cf. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XXIII (1890), p. 1; *Nord und Süd*, Vol. LII (1890), p. 334; *Verhandlungen deutscher Philologen* (1890), p. 256.

poetry.¹ The mere presence of nature in verse does not necessarily argue deep feeling for nature on the part of the versifier; if it does, let us recall with a start and a catch of the breath that some of the most artificial school-made poems that the world has ever known must be tremendously sincere in this one regard. But on the contrary critics like Marold err, I think, when they paint a scene like the above, and have the German remember suddenly that he needs some nature-tags, go to the western neighbors and to Latin poetry to get it, and fetch it home to unite it more or less seamlessly with other heart-emotions like love. As if one recalled that there were no chops for luncheon and hied him to the nearest shop to repair the oversight!²

There is a golden mean to observe in this as in other matters. Goliard songs like *minnelieder* exhibit nature-sense, of course, or they would not so constantly refer to nature; a deep feeling for nature finds in either type but rare expression. The goliard as a usual thing paints his nature broad and pompously, whereas the earlier minnesingers at least sketch it more briefly and severely, but in final analysis each is ordinarily only following the technique of his school; the one clips his illustrations from Latin poems colored by Latin ecclesiasticism and scholastic rhetoric, the other gains his material from vernacular sources. Sometimes, however, the goliard is evidently influenced by popular poetry—at other times the minnesinger quite as openly finds his model in stilted Latin imagery. In any particular instance the reader of a poem may decide as to the real feeling for nature shown by some individual poet only after much personal examination of the records. He may discover the nature-introduction and embellishment so widespread in mediaeval poetry³ to be but the veriest common-

¹ Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (1892)².

² An important bibliography of older writings on the nature-sense of the minnesingers in Meyer, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXIX (1885), p. 207. To furnish a general bibliography of this subject is happily unnecessary, for it would prove as arduous (and acceptable) a task as counting the hairs of one's head.

³ We know how common a custom it was to enliven even the rhymed chronicles (the prose ones, too, for that matter) with various sorts of purely incidental matter; mythological allusions and reminiscences of ancient history vied in popular favor with descriptions of natural scenes and constituted a kind of brodered edge about the more solid framework of the theme. Just as, for example, Walter of Chatillon interlarded his *Alexandreis* with rhetorical pictures of nature according to good classical usage, so William the Breton

place of conventional symbolism,¹ the rewhistling, as it were, of a melody that is on every lip—or he may find in occasional lines of some Walther von der Vogelweide and his lesser brethren an adequate answer to the moment under description.

The nature-formalism of German *minnesang* has been graphically presented by several scholars, most notably by Richard M. Meyer; no similar classification on a large scale with reference to Latin school lyrics yet exists. Not until the material has been thus fully exposed, however, will it be commonly understood how much a child of the schools the goliard is in this regard. The labor of bringing together all the evidence bearing upon the treatment of nature in Latin school poetry would minimize by comparison *olim Herculis sudorem*,² but it would be well worth the while, for it would show that in hundreds of cases where we to-day assert originality exists, nothing but pedantic copying is manifest. As there is no space here for epic diffuseness a few known illustrations must suffice:

The opening lines of the *Synodicus* of Warnerius Basiliensis exhibit a joy in environing nature that would remind us of early *minnesang*:

Jam calor aestivus fervente leone nocivus
Transiit, augusti finis dat pocula musti.
Campis detectis et pomis arbore lectis
Undique potatur contractaque cura fugatur.
Nos quoque laetantes dum sustinet herba cubantes
Ramis protectos esca potaque refectos
Condelectemur

proved an apt pupil by interspersing here and there in his *Philippis* what seem to be individualized pictures of local scenery, until we remember the source of them is more apt to be Vergil or Ovid than the real experience of the author.

If we take but one single symbol of natural beauty in mediaeval poetry like the rose, and with the aid of Joret's *La rose dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge* (1892) attempt a full classification of its literary sources, the result is not only instructive but bewildering. We see at once that goliardic poetry found scarcely a figurative use of this flower which classical and patristic Latin had not rendered commonplace. Christian mysticism broadened and specialized this imagery somewhat, of course, and hymnody painted new roses for its Mary-worship, but even here we can often trace easily the "pagan" original, or find at least that the mediaeval symbol has been anticipated by a writer like Prudentius. Such correspondences must frequently be ascribed to coincidence, no doubt, but never without some prior hesitation. For much of the Latin poetry of the Middle Ages was so essentially a poetry of the schools, a product of erudition and not an independent creation, that even in the songs of the wandering students the apparently fresh feeling for nature which inspires them is apt to be couched in tropes borrowed from textbooks.

²"For who of all these poets has not sung or described spring?" asks Francke (*op. cit.*, p. 63).

if we did not know they were copied from Theodulus.¹ Similarly, the following verses from a poem of Nigel Wireker would appear to be an individual tribute of some merit, if we did not understand them to be little more than a cento made from a score of school-descriptions of spring. Every phrase of Nigel's picture can be reproduced again and again from goliard poetry; most of it could be put together in a moment from the songs of the *Carmina burana* alone; it is minstrel patter of a learned sort:

Postquam tristis hiems zephyro spirante recessit,
 Grando, nives, pluviae consuluere fugae,
 Terra parens florum vires rediviva resumpsit,
 Exeruitque caput exhilarata suum,
 Ver caput atque comes aestatis in otia curas
 Laxat, et ablato frigore flore nitet.
 Vernat fronde nemus, vestitur gramine tellus,
 Veris odoriferi spirat ubique vapor.
 Quidquid hiems hyemisque graves rapuere ministri,
 Reddidit aestatis gratia vere novo.
 Veris ad imperium surgens statione soluta,
 Clausa sub aestivo carcere cedit hyems.
 Flante levi zephyro dum ver lascivit in herbas,
 Aestas multiplici flore maritat humum.
 Temporis atque loci facie redeunte serena,
 Saltibus et silvas redditur exul avis;
 Quaeque diu siluit philomena silentia solvit,
 Voce sua redimens verba negata sibi.
 Cujus ad exemplum, sterili torpore remoto,
 Morem temporibus qui gerit ipse sapit.²

Again, we have in the initial verses of the *Apocalypsis Goliae* what shines forth as an individualized depiction of a spring landscape: "In the month of May when the sun burned hot I betook myself to a shady grove and was resting under a spreading oak, when suddenly the form of Pythagoras appeared." Localization, however, promptly disappears when we recall practically this identical statement from a dozen other sources.³

¹ Cf. Huemer, *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. III, pp. 315 ff.; *Wiener Studien*, Vol. XIV (1892), pp. 156 ff.

² Francke (*op. cit.*, p. 63) cites a similar passage from another poem of Nigel, and also Geoffrey of Vinesauf's *Poetria*, vv. 550 ff., 901 ff.; Arnulf (Lexoviensis, *Opera*, ed. Giles) pp. 35, 37; the *Anticlaudianus* and *Planctus naturae* of Alanus of Lille; Peter of Eboli, vv. 1465 ff.

³ Cf. Böhmer, "Herdringer Vagantenliedersammlung," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XLIX (1907), pp. 202 f.; also another poem (No. 17) of the same collection; Radewin's verses, *Sit-*

And so we might proceed with our presentation of the other clichés of nature description which goliard verse possesses in such abundance, adding largely to the material already garnered by Richard M. Meyer and Marold. The stock personifications of nature as the force that created anew, as the pregnant mother, the one perfect healer, the asylum of refuge, the supreme manifestation of a higher being, now malignant, now kindly, etc., until the whole rote of classical reminiscence and school-lore had been sung. But there is no need of this in the present instance, for we wish merely to establish sufficiently the fact that the cachet of goliardic verse like that of all school-poetry is that it found in nature "an object of contemplation rather than an impulse to emotion, a subject for moral rather than for aesthetic interpretation."

The simple Latin pieces, on the other hand, those which preceded, paralleled, and copied German dance rhymes, betray all the immediateness of experience which is the unfailing criterion of folksong.¹ In No. 79, refrain, the poet does not study the world, he *hears* it and it is sounding a thousand melodies of love; No. 81, the choir of song-birds incites to youthful dalliance; No. 99, the new beauty of spring and its festival array summon to gaiety, but the girl should be true to the lover who is ever with her in thought (*von dir geschieden, bin ich bei dir*); No. 100, men and maids with crowns of roses go out into the meadows now that spring has come again; No. 103, it is good to walk in the woodlands now that the trees are green with foliage, etc. A hundred similar quotations can be had for the asking from the two-score light and graceful love *dits* which intervene between Nos. 100 and 147 of the *Carmina burana*.

What may we read from this? That all these songs were composed by simple-minded folk-poets? Of course not. That the majority of these songs are absolutely untouched by the long-

zungsber. d. bayr. Akad. [1873], p. 690; Fierville, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXXI (1884), Pt. 1, p. 144, Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. VI (1893), p. 239; Hubatsch, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Raab, *Ueber vier allegorische Motive in der latein. u. deut. Lit. d. Mittelalters* (1885); Francke, *op. cit.* p. 58, who also cites in this connection the *Palponista* of Bernard of Gest.

¹ Although it must not be forgotten that in these pieces as in popular poetry everywhere nature is only the background and is generally sketched without individuality of tone or treatment. "In the landscapes of goliardic literature," says Symonds, "there is nothing specific to a single locality, no name like Vaucluse, no pregnant touch that indicates one scene selected from a thousand."

breathed absurdities of the French and German schools? Again, of course not. We may, however, from the open page of these confessions read that *kranzsingen*, *brunnenfahrt*, *knappenehe*, *maienbuhlen* and other village festivals and customs live in these Latin lyrics as really as they do in any vernacular German poetry of the contemporary day. And this sort of come-be-my-valentine song with its set-piece of nature-staging (trees are green: the meadow is flow'ring: the nightingale sings: the spreading linden-branches invite)—shall we for one moment deem this identical in origin with the industriously wrought imagery of learned nature allusion? No. It matters not where the *volkslied*-landscape appears; whether in simplest maying couplets or in more pretentious company, viz., as a mere tag in a goliardic ballad; it can be recognized as readily as might a milkmaid at the court of Louis XIV. A real milkmaid it may be or some fine lady in masque, but the origin of the costume in either case betokens the source of the idea. The treatment of nature in some of the Latin spring-songs of the *Carmina burana* teaches us that there were German popular songs everywhere during the twelfth century, and that they are reflected in (and are at times the reflex of) popularizing Latin lyrics.

IV. CLASSICAL AND POPULAR ALLUSIONS

On first hearing the *Orlando furioso* the cardinal Ippolito of Este is rumored to have asked Ariosto in some surprise, "Master Ludovico, where *did* you find all that nonsense?" What answer the indignant poet made history does not relate, but his sources are sufficiently known to us, thanks to the unselfish labors of modern investigators.¹ If a mediaeval schoolman had been similarly examined as to the models of his poem, he would presumably have claimed much of it for his own, but again modern industry has unearthed many of the original writings which were the whole basis and scaffolding for the building of twelfth-century poems. And these were copied after, propped and buttressed by, decorated and painted with, and garnished from, the Latin classic authors. Sometimes the influence was direct, sometimes the ancient author was known through an intermediary of

¹ Cf. Gustav Meyer, *Essays und Studien*, Vol. I (1885), p. 208.

the Silver Age, of African Latinity, or of the Carolingian renaissance; but no matter how the original source be tarnished, made turbid, clouded, or disordered, in final essence it remains the life-giving cell.

The goliards inherited the literary tradition of both school and church.¹ The result of this, as has been sufficiently indicated above, is that their poems stand forth in sharp relief from the lay-poetry of the time—a contrast of which the goliards themselves were conscious, and which they did all in their power to maintain.² It is only necessary for one who is conversant with the recurrent formulae of German *minnesang* to glance at the more learned and pretentious of the Latin lyrics in the *Carmina burana* to recognize how different are the turns of speech which characterize the latter.

A long catalogue of these learned formulae is necessary and has never yet been made. I know of no other work in connection with the history of the mediaeval lyric so important at this time. Without such a *vorarbeit* literary criticism must continue to hand down general statements regarding the texture and the weaving of Provençal, French, German, English, and Italian lyrics as they meet our gaze from twelfth and thirteenth centuries onward. We must thresh and re-thresh the husks, until someone feels himself called to examine the field of Latin literature during the

¹Cf. Hubatsch, pp. 22 f.: "Besides the Bible the Roman classics formed the foundation of the clerical culture of the Middle Ages. Thus there mingled in the poetic diction of the clerks the figures of Old and New Testament and the gods and heroes of Greece and Rome; parables and maxims from the Bible and sayings and proverbs from ancient authors; church mysteries and the mythology of antiquity. Because of the language of the church which the clerks spoke, they employed the tales and the persons of the Old Testament much as the Roman poets did the Greek legends and gods; Jerusalem and Zion commonly appear in the poetic diction of the church as a term for *ecclesia*, the Christians are called *plebs hebraea*, etc. On the other hand they speak of Homer, of Jupiter, of the Medes and Persians, as if they themselves were living in the age of the Roman poets." Because of this confusion of imagery, Jupiter often replaces the Christian God (e. g., in the *Confessio Goliae*; "sed cor patet Jovi"), and Venus is substitute for the Virgin Mary. For further suggestive discussion cf. Francke, pp. 33 ff.; Pannenberg, *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, Vol. XI, p. 225; and especially Ronca, *Cultura medievale* (1891), pp. 126 ff., who calls attention to the *Goliae dialogus inter aquam et vinum* (Wright, *Walter Mapes*, p. 87; Novati, *Carmina medii aevi*, p. 58) in which Thetis and Lyæus appear before the throne of God and plead their case with a large number of citations from the Bible.

²As many allusions indicate: "Laici non capiunt ea quae sunt vatis," "Literatos convocat decus virginalis, laicorum execrat pectus bestiale," "Jacet ordo clericalis in respectu laicalis," "aestimetur autem laicus ut brutus, nam ad artem surdus est et mutus," etc.

early Middle Ages, in order to determine how much it may contain of the themes and the figures which vernacular poetry later employed. It requires no prophetic vision to see that in this Latin lies buried many a secret for which students of national and native poetic art have long been hunting, or which in their lack of full knowledge they believe to have found elsewhere. In some ways the task is an enormous one, for it should include not merely the examination of Latin school poetry but must search industriously through chronicles and sermons, prose treatises of many sorts, MSS of excerpts and apologues, exempla and tales, *artes dictamini et metrici*, religious and philosophical tracts, historical records. When the work has been finished, we shall find the truth of a fact which has often been discovered before: culture filters down to the more illiterate people from above, but the reaction is at least equally strong—the conscious and learned literature of the favored class everywhere mirrors the homely wisdom and the innate poetry of humbler souls, no matter how far from its original form and purpose such popular lore may have been brought by scholastic transfiguration.

Pending such investigation, however, we must be content to note the disparity of devices and tricks which separates goliard poetry from courtly lyrics as well as from poetry of the more popular sort. Because of the limits of our space one or two illustrations must suffice.

In one of Nigel Wireker's poems¹ the three Fates come upon a girl of such radiant beauty that Jupiter himself would have suffered banishment from heaven for seven years rather than give her up. This picture is repeated with more or less furbishing in school verse until it becomes a wearying commonplace. Geoffrey of Vinesauf, for example, writes:

Si Jupiter illis
 Temporibus vidisset eam: nec in Amphitryonem
 Luderet Alcmenam; nec sumeret ora Dianae:
 Ut te fraudaret Callisto flore; nec Io
 Nube; nec Antiopam satyro; nec Agenore natam
 Tauro; Messione nec te pastore; vel agne

¹ Cf. Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, Vol. II, p. 111; Francke, p. 32.

Asopo genitam; vel te Didonis in anguem;
Vel Ledam cygno; nec Danem falleret auro.
Hanc solam coleret, omnesque videret in una.¹

This flourish is used three times by Hilary:

Si nunc certe regnaret Jupiter,
Pro puella bos factus turpiter,
Avis foret tibi similiter,
Apud illum ut fores jugiter.

Crede mihi, si redirent prisca Jovis saecula,
Ganymedes jam non foret ipsius vernacula;
Sed tu, raptus in supernis, grata luce pocula,
Gratiora quidem nocte Jovi dares oscula.

Nam et rector superiorum,
Raptor olim puerorum,
Si nunc esset, tam decorum
Ad caeleste ferret torum
Aula tandem in superna,
Satis proutus ad alterna,
Nunc in toro, nunc pincerna,
Jovi fores gratus una;²

and oftener still in the *Carmina burana*; very simply in two cases, at other times with conscious elaboration:

Me Corinna Jove digna nexuit. (No. 154.)

Si me dignetur quam desidero,
Felicitate Jovem supero. (No. 167.)

Unde juro Musas novem,
Quodque majus est, per Jovem,
Qui pro Danae sumsit auri,
Pro Europa formam tauri. (No. 168.)

O si forte Jupiter hanc videat,
Timeo ne pariter incaleat
Et ad fraudes redeat,
Sive Danaes pluens antrum
Imbre dulci mulceat,
Vel Europes intret taurum,
Vel et haec congaudeat
Rursus in olore. (No. 56.)

¹ *Poetria nova*, vss. 621 ff.

² Cf. Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarii versus et ludi*, pp. 21, 22, 40.

Another picture of which the goliard never tires is that of the poet wounded by love.¹ Similar personifications of Fate and of Fortune are extremely common, like that of Nature of which we have already spoken. There is often scarcely an end to the heaping up of classical and biblical instances of wisdom, greatness, beauty, and chastity, even in really musical and lyric pieces: one has but to recall the *Ubi sunt* strophes or the "gloss" stanzas so beloved of mediaeval poets:

Inplumes aves volitant, Brunelli chordas incitant, boves in aula salit-
tant, stivae praecones militant. In taberna Gregorius jam disputat
inglorius, severitas Hieronimi partem causatur oboli. Augustus de seg-
ete, Benedictus de vegete sunt colloquentes clanculo et ad macellum
sedulo. Mariam gravat sessio, nec Marthae placet actio, jam Liae venter
sterilis, Rachel lippectis oculis. Catonis jam rigiditas convertitur ad
ganeas, et castitas Lucretiae turpi servit lasciviae.²

Such examples may be multiplied at will, as may scores of other classical reminiscences of one sort and another. But enough has been said to show the trend of things in this direction; it remains to present the antithesis. For just as surely as the presence of such allusions as those above indicated show learned influence and environment in the case of certain songs, a large number of facts of a different kind furnish indisputable testimony regarding the popular nature and origin of other lyrics. These without further ado I shall now proceed to sweep together as well as may be.

Diction.—Richard M. Meyer has succeeded in winnowing out of the lighter lyrics of the *Carmina burana* a large number of Germanisms, many of which are of the simplest and most popular sort. Some of his examples are, as he himself recognizes, not absolutely convincing; that is, they may be French locutions as well as German ones; but in general his results in this direction have stood and will stand the severest test of criticism. *Late*

¹ Instances chosen at random from the *Carmina burana* are: Venus me telo vulneravit; Cupido telum minans vibrat; tela Cupidinis aurea gesto; vulneratus a sagitta Veneris; dum sagittam Veneris vos sentitis; vulnus atque vulneris causas revela; telum pectore clausum portitavi; dulce est hoc jaculo velle vulnerari; vulnera experior; vulneratus nequeo sanari; Venus tela proferat in amantes puellas; et aurea Cupidinis ad jacula; ob quam vulneror; venenea ob hoc amoris jacula; unius in amore puellae vulneror; amor telum est in signis Veneris; quod feriat me Veneris jaculo; vulneror in medio cordis mei telo; and many more.

² *Carmina burana*, No. LXIX.

pandit tilia, nu ist wol breit der linden ir ast; *flore decoratum purpureo*, mit rosen underwieret; *sed haec mihi penitus mors dulcior*, aber sanfter waere mir der tot; *ornantur prata floribus*, diu heide hat gezieret sich; *ver redit optatum cum gaudio*, komen ist ein wunneclicher meie, des kunft envreut sich; such formulae as these found in plenty among the dance songs of a Bavarian MS speak with no uncertain voice of the technique of German *volkslieder*.

Impure rhyme.—Pursuant to hints given by Wilhelm Meyer, Lundius discovers the songs in the *Carmina burana* which exhibit impurity of rhyme and those which sin against the doctrine of syllabic equality in verse structure to be chiefly German in origin. Gladly as I should accept the conclusions of Lundius to bolster up my argument, I cannot believe in their integrity at this time, for reasons elsewhere given.¹

Themes.—Certain of the themes and the manner of treating them in Latin lyrics have been discussed in the preceding part of this study. I have practically nothing to add on this point, although the material at hand to prove popular German influence in a number of Latin songs which have not been treated is still ample. I have not used all this evidence, for it would offer nothing new except in the way of cumulative proof, and I have preferred to leave a topic the moment I believed it to be adequately set forth and verified.

Popular paraphrase.—German popular poetry has a fondness for concrete illustration which shows itself in minute details.² Abstract expressions of time and place are avoided by the *volkslied* whenever possible. For "always" it says "by night as well as day;" "never" is more graphically given by "when the ravens become white doves," "when the sea stands still," etc. We meet this tendency now and then, or at least the deliberate copying of it, in Latin verses:

Cum mare siccatur
Et daemon ad astra levatur,
Tunc primo laicus
Fit clero fidus amicus.³

¹ Cf. Appendix, *infra*.

² Cf. Wackernell, *Das deutsche Volkslied* (1890), p. 27.

³ An inscription on the church of St. Martin in Worms; Hubatsch, p. 22.

Ergo dum nox erit dies,
 Et dum labor erit quies,
 Et dum silva sine lignis,
 Et dum aqua erit ignis,
 Et dum mare sine velis,
 Et dum Parthus sine telis,
 Cara mihi semper eris;
 Nisi fallar, non falleris.¹

Impersonality.—Hubatsch says that the goliard songs are like *volkslieder* because they are the property of none, but pass like ready coins through the hands of many; because in them the personality of the poet is withdrawn, or what little there may be of it is soon sloughed off, and only that which is of universal interest and value remains; because goliard songs are current at one and the same time in different forms, of which it is difficult to determine the original, for in each new revision we find no longer the product of the individual, but the traces of many hands. These words of Hubatsch are not unreasonable, and for a small portion of goliardic poetry they may be exact and true, but personally and after much study of the situation I am afraid it is not well to insist strongly upon the likeness of goliard lyric to folksong in the matter of impersonality. For it offers us too vague and uncertain a clue to follow with satisfaction, and leads us almost of necessity to adopt the specious phrase “learned folk-poetry” to which I have above objected.

The courtly poets were the first to object to the theft of their songs (“*dōnedieb*”); previous poets either took no heed of plagiarism and made no attempt to prove ownership to their lays, or — what is perhaps more likely — names have been lost to us through the carelessness and chance of transmission. From these facts we can read something of the literary fashions of a time, but we can hardly read a similarity to popular poetry. Some of the greatest hymns ever written are ascribed to this or that author on the basis of mere rumor and tradition, innumerable poems big and little,

¹ *Carmina burana*, No. 168; the phrase “Parthus sine telis” in a stanza of so popular a sort reminds us of the learned character of the *minnegruss* cited above (Part I, p. 14, bottom), which Mr. E. K. Rand discovers to contain a reminiscence of *Pervigilium Veneris*, vss. 47 f.

"comedies," tales, sermons, etc., likewise are without definitely ascertainable authors and have therefore been assigned one after the other to almost every new head that juts up above the mediaeval horizon. But in few of these cases surely would we think of comparing these things with *volkslieder* simply because they are anonymous.

And as for the general and impersonal nature of many goliard songs, they were written in Latin and so could not hope to achieve the specific individualization of vernacular poems. Besides which, they need not be regarded as "popular" simply because they did not insist upon the extravagant claims of the ego of the poet so characteristic of the songs of *minnedienst*.

Music.—It is possible for the scientist to deal with electricity without taking into consideration the lightning flash, and likewise we may treat long and laboriously of mediaeval Latin lyrics without a reference to mediaeval music. Songs that because of the accident of ink and print we *see*, others have *heard*, but all the melody which filled their ears is lost to us. I suspect that sometimes music carried lyrics like lightning from one land to another, from one tongue to another; only thus may I explain to my satisfaction the quickness with which certain forms of poetry appear to have found diffusion throughout Europe. At the present time a certain light opera is being heard in many cities and countries of our small world; it contains a waltz-song which is achieving widespread popularity and praise. For a little while the words of this song are being sung in at least five languages and on two continents. It will live out its ephemeral day and disappear; but what a crux the words of this song will offer to the "investigator" of some future century who vainly attempts to construct the meaning of their popularity and their wide diffusion! He will be confronted by a mummy which cannot be reawakened except through the miracle of music.

And there is something about the poorest mummy-casket which allows us to dream of life, nay which demands that we so dream. And so there is much in the simplest lyrics of the *Carmina burana* which tells us of the sound of them, which leads us to set them to one and another of the tunes from the modern *kommersbuch*

with some satisfaction to ourselves at least. A few of them may have been sung to tatters and thus have gained a terseness of expression, a crispness that we are accustomed to in *volkslieder* and in modern German popularizing lyrics but which contrasts oddly with the expressionistic tautology, the plethoric garrulousness of the longer Latin poems. A study of the refrains in the Benedictbeuern codex similarly convinces us of the popularity some songs achieved when set to a catching tune.

Terseness.—In his review of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* Goethe speaks of the laconicism of the lyric which is the undoubted result of the vivid contemplation of a limited situation, of the pressure exerted by a deep view. I have just hinted that some of this crispness and tensity found in mediaeval Latin lyrics may be due to the circumstance of oral transmission; they have been *zer-sungen*, and nothing but the last intelligible rags of them remain. But in certain other short songs I believe we meet with that impressionistic vagueness of expression, that disregard for middle-terms, *sprunghaftigkeit*, *technik des erratenlassens*, which folk-poetry has ever used with such telling effectiveness. Not much of this is in our lighter ballads, it is true, but here and there if I mistake not there is a faint reflection of it; we should need far more material than we now have to justify prolonged exegesis, but on the other hand I do not feel like passing by the fact in silence. Just one citation:

Beneath the spreading branches of this tree [said the girl] my knight has often descended from his horse and stopped to tell me of his love; though, alas, he was ever more prone to demand of me the pledges of my love for him! But now that he comes no more I yet steal away to our leafy meeting-place and strive to keep my faith for him and be ready when he next appears. Where does he tarry? Nay, he is faithless as I am fond, he has ridden off and will never plead again for my caresses. Oh, if this love has played me false, who is there that can love me?

All this the poet says and more still by implication, but after the manner of the *volkslied* he crowds it into a few words:

Floret silva nobilis
Floribus et foliis.
Ubi est antiquus

Meus amicus?
Hinc equitavit;
Eia! Quis me amabit?

Refrains.—The choral stanzas of the love-lyrics in the *Carmina burana* fall into two easily distinguishable classes: (1) long and learned refrains;¹ (2) shorter ones with a more lyrical and popular tone. I feel no inclination to make a catalogue of these two sorts, for we should gain therefrom no new point of view. The first kind of refrain is bookish not only because of the nature of its content but because it is so difficult to learn and retain that we must suspect the singer of it to have constantly refreshed his mind with a glance at the page:

Experire filia virilia
Semper juvenilia stabilia;
Sola sunt senilia labilia.
Haec sunt utensilia agilia, facilia,
gracilia, fragilia, humilia, mobilia,
docilia, labilia, Caecilia,
Et si qua sunt similia.

Jolly a refrain though this may be, it defies facile memorization; nor may we easily suspect it to have been intercalated between the song of the two quatrains which it divides, for it fits the sense and the rhyme of them exactly. Now, while in the *Carmina burana* we have practically no other example of so extended and whimsical a chorus, there are a number of instances² which argue with equal force against the popularity of the poems which contain them—"popularity" in the sense of a widespread and almost unconscious humming of them. The presence of the longer refrain, then, merely indicates that more than one singer had part in the song—not that it was in any sense a *volkslied*.³

But the brief choral reiteration which characterizes certain of the shorter poems of love and wine, often with vernacular alloy, makes their popularity more or less certain; although in one or

¹ Wilh. Meyer is in error when he says the arranger of the Benedictbenern codex made an especial rubric of those simple love-songs which have the longer refrains (*Ges. Abhandl.*, Vol. I, p. 326): Nos. 140-43, 145, 146. Other refrains in songs of this type like Nos. 53 and 59 exceed the ones he mentions by several lines.

² E. g., Nos. 33, 48, 53, 54, 56, 57, 115, 140, 142, 144.

³ Cf. what Wilh. Meyer has to say about No. 178 (*Ges. Abhandl.*, Vol. I, p. 327).

two cases (cf. No. 125) the refrain is slight and pretty, whereas the poem is stilted or long-winded.

- No. 34: Fronde pausat tiliae, Cypridis in voto!
 79: Audi bela mia, mille modos Veneris da hi zevaleria.
 81: O vireat, o floreat, o gaudeat in tempore iuventus!
 88: Eia, qualia amoris gaudia!
 92: Miser, miser! modo niger et ustus fortiter.
 112: Floret silva undique, nah mine gesellen ist mir we.
 121: Dulcis amor! Qui te caret hoc tempore fit vilior.
 125: Lodircundeia lodircundeia.
 136: Hyrca hyrce nazaza trillirivos.
 143: Vos igitur, o socii, nunc militetis Veneri.
 146: Hoi et oe! maledicantur tiliae juxta viam positae!
 164: Temporis nos ammonet lascivia.
 166: Amor improbus omnia superat, subveni!
 182: Deu sal sit vobiscum, o pecharie! Modo bibite, sortes apponite!
 191: O et o cum jubilo, largos laudet nostra concio.

To such a list should be added the German refrains appended to Latin pieces, for they teach the same lesson of popularity.

- 141: Manda liet, manda liet, min geselle chumet niet.
 145: Heia heia, wie si sanch; cicha cicha, wie si sanch; vincula vincula rumpebat.
 181: Her wirt, tragant her nuo win, vrolich suln wir bi dem sin.

NATIVE ART IN DRINKING SONGS

I have already had occasion to speak of the bacchic songs which parodied religious poems.¹ Some of these copied the *Ave*-model closely, others like the hymn of *magister* Morandus developed the form further,² but they are all the fruit of learned imitation. In none of them can we trace any hint of nationality or birthplace, other than to assume that they had their origin in connection with festivals like the *festae stultorum* and *asinorum*.³

Another sort of drinking-song is without racial characteristics, This is the *conflictus* between wine and water.⁴ In part it may

¹ Cf. Part I, p. 35.

² Cf. Mono, *Hymni latini medii aevi*, Vol. I, p. 177; Wright, *Early Mysteries*, p. 120; DuMéril (1847), p. 204, (1843), p. 96; *Anzeiger f. Kunde d. deut. Vorzeit*, Vol. XV, p. 135; *Chronica fratris Salimbene Parmensis* (1847), p. 92; Novati, *Carmina medii aevi* (1883), pp. 66; 69, *Studi critici* (1889), p. 186; Suttina, *Studi medievali*, Vol. II (1907), pp. 563 ff.

³ Cf. Novati, *Studi critici*, pp. 185 ff.; Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, Vol. I, pp. 274 ff.

⁴ Cf. also the "Altercatio vini et cerevisiae," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XLIX (1907) p. 200.

be the outgrowth of the more popular type of eclogue and *streitgedicht*, but in any case it is so colored by learned reference and scholastic diction as to belong to the "universal" and "cosmopolitan" kind of mediaeval Latin poetry and to conceal all traces of its nativity. Various versions of this poem exist,¹ the fragmentary one in the *Carmina burana* (No. 173) being the shortest and most vivid of them all. It was extremely popular in the Middle Ages and has been ascribed to Goliath, Archpoet, and Primate.

Certain metrical *sprüche* (proverbial verses) which deal with wine and water likewise betray no mark of their original home. The best known of these is the *In cratere meo Thetis est sociata Lyaeo* which is found in more than twenty MSS.² It seems now likely that Hugo of Orleans wrote these distichs or at least gave them currency in his time, but we may not be sure that he invented their theme. The same thought appears in several rhythmic pieces of the *Carmina burana* and was the catch of many a mediaeval German drinking-song, no doubt: *Reimt sich wasser nicht mit wein!* Always, however, in learned dress:

Cum in scypho reponuntur
Vinum, aqua, conjunguntur;
Talis conjunctio non est bona. (No. 173.)

Aqua prorsus coitum
Nequit impetrare,
Bachus illam facile
Solet expugnare. (No. 178.)

Nunquam Bachus adaquari
Se voluit,
Nec se Liber baptizari
Sustinuit. (No. 179.)³

But if we do not gain the scent of unforgettable *tafellieder für liedertafeln* in the types of wine-songs already suggested in

¹ Cf. Wright, *Walter Mapes*, p. 87; Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. III, p. 78; Salimbene (1847), p. 218; *Anzeiger f. Kunde*, Vol. XV, p. 285; DuMéril (1854), p. 303; Novati, *Carmina medii aevi*, p. 58; *Bibl. de l'École de chartes*, Vol. XLVII (1886), p. 2, etc.

² A comparative analysis of them is given by Meyer, *Göttinger Nachrichten* (1907), pp. 149 f.

³ Cf. also the couplet

Qui aquam ponit in Falerno
Sit sepultus in inferno.

Studi medievali, Vol. II, p. 566.

this chapter, other poems afford us as rich indications of the vernacular and native art of Germany as any that we have found in Latin lyric dance-songs. The drinking-song *Meum est propositum*¹ cannot be cited in this connection for its parentage is not and perhaps never will be settled,² but again this poem would not be a case in point for us, as no matter how genial it may be it is part and parcel of a learned goliardic poem, and without locality of color. Nor, for like reasons, can we lay claim to the vulgar *Testamentum asini*³ or such nobler products of the scholar's muse as the originals of *Gaudeamus igitur*, *Lauriger Horatius*, and *Dulce cum sodalibus*.⁴ Clerical models, too, such as the antiphon of the "service for gamesters," *Ego sum abbas cucaniensis* and the stanza from an introit,

Tunc rorant scyphi desuper,
Et canna pluit mustum,
Et qui potaverit nuper,
Bibat plus quam sit justum,⁵

¹Sandys' objection that these are the best known and most misunderstood verses of mediaeval poetry sounds strange in our ears; cf. *Cambridge History of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 212. Even if these lines are an allusion to the grossness of Bishop Goliath and not the personal conviction of the poet himself, how does that change matters? For a jovial song these verses have always been and always will be.

²Wilh. Meyer's direct attribution of the poem to "the veritable child of Cologne, the thoroughly misunderstood, most genial Latin poet of the Middle Ages" (*Fragmenta burana*, p. 21) is no more certain than the similar assignment of the *In cratere meo* which he has since discovered to belong to Hugo of Orleans. He who wishes the joy of studying all the redactions of this poem at once may turn to Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde d. latein. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, pp. 200 ff.

³Cf. especially Feifalik, "Studien zur Gesch. d. altböhmisches Lit." (*Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.*, Vol. XXXVI, No. II, p. 172), Palm, "Latein. Lieder aus schlesischen Kloster-Bibliotheken" (*Abhandlungen d. schles. Gesell.* (1862), No. II, p. 95), and Novati, *Carmina mediæ ævi*.

⁴The groundwork of these three notable songs is presumably to be found in originals of as early a date as the twelfth century. In his *Gaudeamus* (1879)² Peiper printed after the titles of the last two of the poems "Archipoetae vestigia" and later explained that he meant that they "as well as the *Gaudeamus igitur* rested on old foundations, and the forgotten old songs which underlay them were to be traced back to the archpoet and goliardic verse. Cf. von Bärnstein, *Ubi sunt qui ante nos* (1881), p. 138. Symonds likewise discovers that "their style is so characteristic of the Archipoeta, that I believe we may credit him with at least a share in their composition." *Wine, Women and Song*, p. 146. The bibliography concerning *Gaudeamus* is very extensive: it may be found conveniently in Bärnstein, pp. 103-12 and Kopp, *Deutsches Volks- und Studentenlied in vorklassischer Zeit* (1899); cf. also DuMéril (1847), p. 125; Klemming, "Latinska sånger från Sveriges medeltid." IV (*Cantiones morales scholast. hist. in regno Sueciae olim usit.* [1887], p. 16), and Enders, *Euphoriion*, Vol. XI (1904), pp. 381-406.

⁵A parody of Isaiah's *rorate coeli desuper et nubes pluant justum*. Curiously enough this very line receives another witty twisting in Gerald of Barri's tale of the Englishwoman who pettishly answered the priest's *rorate coeli desuper* with "Rorisse þe rorie ne wrthe nan" (i. e., your rories and ories are all to no purpose). Quoted from Sandys, *Cambridge History of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 219.

humorously as they may tinge this poetry of wine, can still not be made to yield their quota in proof of a really German art.

But it is after all not in literal phrases, in the concrete manifestations of verbal identity, that we should hunt for our proof that Latin drinking-songs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries reflect German tavern and tramp songs of the same period. It is rather in the implications of a text, its spirit and manner, that we get wind of the art which underlies it, of the source from which it comes. Gaston Paris built up his theory of popular origins for most of the French courtly lyrics and for all of the more objective types of mediaeval French song, although in but few cases and then dimly did the actual diction and figurative verbiage of his texts correspond to popular phrases.¹ With equal fearlessness and surety of touch Winterfeld has asserted that beneath the thin crust of mediaeval Latin we may often discern German popular and native art. Notker's strength he believes to lie in a truly Swabian humor which gilds his writing as it does that of Keller and Mörike; Roswitha on the contrary he finds austere and taciturn, hiding the inner softness of her temper so that it breaks forth only now and then so unexpectedly and with such elemental force that it reminds one of Hebbel. In translating such poems as Roswitha's story of the founding of the convent at Gandersheim Winterfeld thinks the modern literary language inadequate, he argues that only provincial German diction may hope to reproduce her "gnarled" Low-Saxon manner.²

That we do not recognize the truth of this more readily than

¹ Cf. particularly Paris, "Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge" (*Journal des savants*, 1891, 1892); Jeanroy in Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la littérature franc.*, Vol. I, pp. 362 ff., and also *Les origines* (1904) ², pp. 10 ff.

² Cf. Winterfeld, *Stilfragen* (1902), pp. 11 ff.; *Herrigs Archiv.*, Vol. CXIV, pp. 29 ff.—Mediaeval Latin poetry is the meeting ground for two elements: the older epic manner of the so-called Dark Ages, the newer lyric manner of modern art. The former of these scholars have long been trying to separate from the reluctant quartz of chronicle and school-poem; but the latter can be much more readily separated, I believe, and for a simple reason. We know so much more clearly what the canons of modern art are than we do what were those of dim and ancient times. One we feel instinctively, but for the other we scarcely have intuition; we have rather only an appreciation based upon knowledge. Whatever therefore may be the success met with by investigators who have sought the early Merovingian epic in Gregory of Tours (cf. Kurth, *Histoire poétique des Mérovingiens* [1893], Gautier in Julleville's *Histoire*, Vol. I, pp. 49 ff., 163 f.), however we may adjudge such tests as those of Kögel's to regain alliterative lines from poems like the *Waltherius*; when we seek for the more modern *heimatkunst* behind and within certain mediaeval Latin lyrics of spring and wine we are surer of our reward.

we do is, I believe, the fault of ourselves; we are accustomed to regard pedantic Latin measures from the standpoint of our "classical" training and not quite simply as the awkward and sleazy house-dress which necessarily for some generations hid the quick life and the healthy body of native European thought and humor. And the mediaeval poets themselves often, generally in fact, hide their light laboriously under the bushel by being as unintelligible and artificial as they possibly can. A good illustration of this are certain lines of Nicholas of Bibera's *Carmen satiricum*.

Sunt et ibi Scoti, qui cum fuerint bene poti,
Sanctum Brandanum proclamant esse decanum
In grege sanctorum vel quod deus ipse deorum
Brandani frater, sit et ejus Brigida mater.¹

These verses my mind had slipped comfortably over with no thought of what they really contained, until I read Winterfeld's *Stilfragen*; even then my first feeling was that my new guide was grossly exaggerating, and it took much renewed study to convince me that he was right in insisting that we have buried here the story of how the unspeakable Irishman travels about the Continent with his national saints and his home ways: "When the Irish monk has had a bit too much, he swears St. Brandan is dean of the whole clan of saints, God himself becomes his intimate and St. Bridget his mother."²

¹ Vs. 1350-53; cf. Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, p. 19, who also calls attention to how little compatible St. Columba showed himself with the situation in France; and to a joke of Walafrid Strabo (*Neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. V, p. 345).

² "Wirklich ein Bild im niederländischen Stile," says Winterfeld (*op. cit.*, p. 20): "die Heiligen aller Zeiten und Zungen als eine Bauerngesellschaft in rauchiger Schänke. St. Brandan, der Baas unter ihnen, schlägt just mit der Faust auf den Tisch, um seinen Worten mehr Nachdruck zu leihen. Gottvater, in der Weise eines h. Joseph gemalt, als freundlicher alter Mann mit langem weissen Barte, zwinkert mit den Augen und klopf ihm gutmütig auf den Schulter, als wöllt er sagen: 'Na, Alter, renommire nicht zu toll, wir waren auch dabei.' Und im Hintergrunde statt der Mutter Maria die heilige Brigitte mit dem strampelnden krähenden Christkind auf dem Schoss." Overdone I believe this picture to be and somewhat unwarranted in fact, but a pleasant antidote to the literality of most criticism of mediaeval Latin.

Great care should be exercised, however, not to allow loose statements regarding the native element in Latin art to sway our judgment. Taylor, for example, in his words on the transition from classical to mediaeval poetry (*Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, pp. 297 ff.) says "that the traits of the various peoples of Western Europe began to appear in their Latin verse and prose as through a veil." Some of what he has to offer on the score of "German feeling" and "Irish extravagance" is perhaps true: "the presence of rude German banter and rough-handed valor in the *Waltharius*; the almost burlesque fulsomeness of the inscriptions of Columbanus' letters to Boniface IV and Gregory the Great," etc. But what Taylor assumes of the characteristics or tastes of Anglo-Saxon times from Latin

We have no reason to doubt that, just as mediaeval chronicles and sermons were saturated with folklore of every sort, tales and jests, riddles and proverbs, popular custom and superstition, so mediaeval poetry of a learned stripe grew big with popular snatches of song. If it be unwise to regard the *leporis planctus*:

Flevit lepus parvulus
Clamans altis vocibus:
"Quid feci hominibus,
Quod me sequuntur canibus?"

as the Latin reproduction of a *volkslied* existent as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century, the case still shows us how at a later date *Häslein's Klagelied* became a full-fledged Latin drinking-round.¹ And the song of the roast swan, almost certainly sung when the goose was being brought to the table on St. Martin's day, assuredly had Latin and German congeners in the thirteenth century as it did in the sixteenth.²

We should not need the occasional German references contained in the Latin drinking-songs of the *Carmina burana* to determine

poetry is too vague to be of service; the alliteration, the love for riddles, personification of inanimate objects—these are Teutonic at least and noway specifically English. And Taylor's assertion concerning French *esprit* is visionary. For he finds "incipient French traits," balance and moderation, neatness or deftness of form, in the poems of Paulinus of Nola. In a different way, he thinks, they also appear in Gregory of Tours' *Historia*, a work in which the Latin is acquiring some of the vivacity and picturesqueness of Froissart [?]. I doubt if students of mediaeval literature will find such rule-of-thumb characterization either helpful or justified.

¹ Cf. Massmann, *Anzeiger f. Kunde d. deut. Vorzeit*, Vol. IV (1836), pp. 184 ff., who printed it from Husemann, *Perpulchri aliquot versus rhythici*, 1575; *Gaudeamus*², p. 186. The German song in four versions is in Erk's *Deutscher Liederhort* (1856), p. 194.

² Cf. the *Martinslieder* in Uhland's *Volkslieder*, Nos. 205-8 and Liliencron, *Deutsches Leben im Volkslied ums Jahr 1530*; Hoffmann, *In dulci júbilo* (1861)², pp. 89 f.; Burdach, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (1900), pp. 39, 285; Mayer u. Rietsch, *Die Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift* (1896), pp. 511 ff. Burdach quotes a passage from the *Bonum universale de apibus* of Thomas of Cambrai (ca. 1263) which runs: "cantus turpissimus de beato Marplenus luxuriosis plausibus per diversas terras Galliae et Teutoniae promulgatus."

He who believes as a matter of principle that it is dangerous to assume for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries most of the types of folksong which later times possess should read R. M. Meyer's suggestive discussion on this point, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 224-36. But just in the matter of the *Trinklied* there is often an unbroken continuity between the goliard songs and later student songs in the German universities (cf. Hubatsch, p. 99; Barnstein, pp. 21, 136 ff.; Zarncke, *Die deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter* [1857]; Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens* [1885]; Kaufmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten*, Vol. I [1888]; and the bibliography and discussion in Spiegel's two pamphlets: *Die Vaganten und ihr Orden* [1892], *Gelehrtenproletariat und Gaunertum* [1902]). There is no space here to develop this point which is so important a one; viz., that many of the tavern and tramp songs of humanistic Germany may go back in their origins to the thirteenth century at least by a line of direct tradition.

the German origin of some of them.¹ Nor should we need to know that a number of them are found in other German MSS, more frequently in fact than is the case with love-songs. In reading these lyrics of the tavern and the road we are forcibly reminded of two things: first, that, fragmentary and second-rate as some of them are, they yet contain just the note which we have come to associate with German drinking-songs and with the songs of no other nation; second, that in no mediaeval Latin song which we do not strongly suspect at least to be German in authorship or coloring do we find this note. And this latter thing seems to me very important. There are French, and English and Italian love-songs written in Latin which can be told from German-Latin love-lyrics only after much study. But the same is not true of lighter Latin drinking-songs. They are either assuredly German, or very probably so in part at least. Not every Latin poem which because of its theme we carelessly label "*carmen potatorium*" is German—of course not. I do not know, or care, if the "drinking-songs" published by Winterfeld in the fourth volume of the *Poetae latini* are German; if such poems dealing with wine and beer as those ascribed to Marbod or Peter of Blois can be multiplied a hundredfold outside of Germany, that is again immaterial. There are as yet discovered so far as I know no Latin drinking-rounds such as those in the Benedictbeuern MS which do not point through more than one fact to German authorship.

Why this should be so, I cannot imagine. I have ever wondered why among the modern literatures the German alone has accorded its wine such high honor. There are few English songs which immortalize sherry and port, the French have spent but little elevated diction on Bordeaux or Burgundy, but the German has wreathed Rhine-wine and Moselle into thousands of his songs and in the yellow light of it spoken of what moved him most: patriotism, homesickness, bereavement, and love. Now a certain mannerism, if I be not mistaken, is peculiar to German *kommerslieder*: at times it finds expression in coarse and effective parody, often it

¹ E. g., No. 176: *Bachus tollat vi bursarum pectora. Flavescit vinum in vitro subrubei coloris*; No. 177: *Simon in Alsatiam visitare patriam venit*; No. 181: *Gens teutonica nil potat melius*; No. 174: *Schuch! clamat nudus in frigore*.

takes shape as tender mockery, sometimes it appears in the guise of sentimental (or maudlin) love for the maid and the scenes of home.

With these things well in mind let us revert to such songs of love and mockery and longing as we have cited in previous chapters, many of which have doubtless come down to us because of their connection with the life of the tavern and the inspiration of festivals held within it. And then let us review the lyrics which deal directly with wine and visualize the scenes these call forth.

Si quis Deciorum
Dives officio. (No. 174.)

This song has been rightly headed "So ist's Spielkomment."

In taberna quando sumus,
Non curamus quid sit humus. (No. 175.)

A sigh and a mock in one before the exiled student proceeds to the long stanzas of the sacred parody that follows.

Dum domus lapidea
Foro sita cernitur,
Et a fratris rosea
Visus dum allicitur. (No. 176.)

A stone-house on the market-place whose red wine allures.

Hac in plana tabula
Mora detur sedula,
Pares nostrae sortes
Pugnant sicut fortes. (No. 177.)

The long table cleared for drinking. And the very next song (No. 178, stanzas 2-4)¹ is the type of part-song heard at the table, first the solo and then the chorus.

And so we close our study as we began it with German popular poetry sounding in our ears and German scenes about us. However much we may have misunderstood the meaning of some of the Latin records above submitted in evidence, however little we may have been yet able to bridge over gaps which yawn here and there in our testimony, one fact shines forth perhaps more clearly

¹Cf. Wilh. Meyer, *Ges. Abhandl.*, Vol. I, p. 327.

than before our labor was begun: Long previous to the documented poetry of troubadour, trouvère, and minnesinger there existed a body of popular vernacular love-songs which influenced and refreshed Latin lyrics of love and spring and wine, and which in turn these latter fed. And now I would leave my topic for a while, not in token of a task fulfilled but as an earnest of other work to come for which the present study has gathered the materials and built the first stepping-stones.¹

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¹ An Appendix to the foregoing article will appear in the January issue of this journal.

MEDIAEVAL LATIN LYRICS

PART IV

APPENDIX¹

The five methods referred to on page 85 above are as follows:

1. *If a poem appear in an earlier or better text elsewhere than in a German MS, the presumption is that it is of foreign extraction.* The weakness of this method and its attendant dangers are obvious; I have already called attention to them in a discussion of Jeanroy's thesis that French lyrics were the source of German lyrics in the twelfth century (*Modern Philology*, Vol. III, pp. 412 f.). Particular care must be exercised in the application of this chronological test to mediaeval profane songs which in both France and Germany were often not documented until one or more generations after the poems were composed; not written down at least in MSS which have descended to us. Often we owe our knowledge of the existence of profane poetry at a certain time to the merest chance, such as the scribbling of a refrain on a margin of MS to test the scribe's pen before he began an initial, such as a phrase at the heading of a serious piece to give the tune it should be sung by, such as a chance reference in homily or sermon, or a tale like that of the Worcester priest in Gerald's *Gemma ecclesiastica* who said *Swete lemman, dhin are* (sweet mistress, thy favor) instead of the expected *Dominus vobiscum* (*Opera Giraldi*, Vol. II, p. 120; Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 445; Sandys, *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 219). The age and the provenience of a song can thus be but rarely determined with absolute definiteness.

And as to the "better" text we may not always safely judge. Opinion may differ as to which of two or three texts is best; and if we agree that one form of a poem be preferable, the longest, finest and clearest variant is not necessarily the first one. Quite the contrary often, for we sometimes learn how one poet after another changed and added to a piece until it reached final shape.

2. *If vernacular phrases mingle with the Latin words of a poem, it is probably original in the land whose language these phrases represent.* Here again we cannot attain definite results, particularly in macaronic Middle English lyrics (cf. Wright, *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*; ten Brink,

¹ It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the vital help and encouragement I have received from Mr. George L. Hamilton, of the University of Michigan, and Mr. Edward K. Rand, of Harvard University. I wish the merit of my performance better justified their kindly offices in its behalf. My colleagues Mr. John M. Manly and Mr. Karl Pietsch have likewise been unfailing in criticism and suggestion.

Gesch. d. engl. Lit., Vol. I², p. 354). At one time, to be sure, all Europe that was ambitious to learn went or longed to go to the French schools, just as later it looked to Italy as the fount of its inspiration. Thus it was possible for an Englishman like Hilary, or a German lad like the author of *Urbs salve regia*, to write a lyric with French words in it or a French refrain to it. At times this song is cut according to the Paris school-jib and perhaps had for its model some French student song; at times the student made a bran-new poem, incorporating in it the personal knowledge and experience gained at the French school, and thus wrote a piece not inherently English or German, but French. Sometimes, however, French words occur in a poem the whole cast of which otherwise is German. Besides which we know that vernacular words were in a few cases inserted in Latin pieces long after they were written. The presence in a song of German or English words indicates nationality more than French words do, for during the whole twelfth century the latter tongue was a sort of *lingua franca* for cultured Europe.

3. *Specific allusion to a country or to its customs and institutions may indicate the original home of a poem.* I have shown with what circumspection this test must be used in my discussion of Nos. 51 and 88 above. Such instances can be multiplied in Latin poems which do not occur in the Benedictbeuern MS; the German's song of farewell to his beloved Swabia, for example, which I have quoted above, p. 24, n. 3, can scarcely be thought of as copied from a French original. In the Germany of the twelfth century, as six hundred years later, Paris was *die hauptstadt der welt* and France the fabled land of romance. We should, therefore, expect to hear echoes of this in Latin songs of German manufacture.

4. *The versification of a song may so closely resemble that of a poet or group of poets outside of Germany that the piece can be assigned to them.* Any application of this test must necessarily rest mainly upon the well-known studies in mediaeval Latin rhythms published by Wilhelm Meyer (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2 vols, 1905). Schreiber first put this method forth to determine which of the Latin songs in the *Carmina burana* were of German origin, in his *Die Vagantenstrophe* (1894). His conception of Latin rhythms was colored by Meyer's essay *über die lateinischen Rythmen* (*Sitzungsber. d. Münchener Akad.*, 1882, I) and Dreves' *Petri Abaelardi hymnarius* (1891), aided here and there by the views of Richard M. Meyer, Martin, Burdach, and Wallensköld. For the sake of discussion I should be willing to accept many of the more general statements of Schreiber about mediaeval lyric measures as true. But when he would apply his results to individual poems in the *Carmina burana* and thus decide which songs are French, which songs German, it is not safe to follow.

For practically every text in the Benedictbeuern MS has to be recon-

structed before its rhythm can be known. Such restored versions are based in nearly every instance at least partly on guesswork—subtle and clever guessing sometimes, but none the less guessing. The foundation of Schreiber's argument is, therefore, at any one moment shaky, often unscientific. The Bacon authorship of Shakespeare can be made many times more plausible than it is if each investigator of the problem be permitted to add and subtract at will. In one poem of five stanzas (No. 109) Schreiber has conjectured the following words: *denuo, lepida, victa, feminae, libere, a diis, Taydis, attamen, unico, spatio, oculi, absque te, sine te, mihi nunc, tu*, and the inflectional ending *-eres*. Does the sense require these additions? No; the piece is an intelligible and poetic whole without them. Why did he add them then? In order to get three additional syllables in three verses of each stanza and thus bring the poem up to the form he presupposed. Where did he get these words? Partly from the *Altercatio Ganymedis et Helenae* (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 127 f.; *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. II, pp. 274 f.), partly out of his own head. Is there any proven connection between the *altercatio* and No. 109? No.

Supposing we should thus remold Browning, or Tennyson, trimming them up with chosen bits from Shelley or Coleridge. It makes the perspiration start but to imagine it. What with garbled texts then, and with all reasonable allowance for similarity, coincidence even, of meter and rhythm, I cannot agree to the employment of verse-tests to bring about a final decision as to the origin of a song, in a period where we are still so much in the dark as here.

Schreiber, however, treated only the *vagantenstrophe*. Lundius has come to carry on the verse-test method by examining all the technical details of the Benedictbeuern Latin songs to get criteria to determine their birthplace (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 330-493). He assumes a time of efflorescence with a certain definite art-technique; this period is one which comprises Adam of St. Victor, Walter of Chatillon, the St. Omer Songs, the poems of the Archpoet, the songs printed by Wright, and the great mass of hymns published by Mone and Drevés! A period, that is, that lasted several hundred years, that stretched from London to Rome and included three or four of the great cultural nations of modern Europe. The art of this period, Lundius states, is marked by several definite characteristics. Where these are deviated from, something is wrong; perhaps the song is German. Exempli gratia, "the art of the period of bloom . . . strictly preserved the number of syllables in a verse" (p. 335). "On the contrary in the songs of our collection we meet frequently offenses against the syllabic equality of lines. This phenomenon finds a simple explanation if one posits the influence of the German national metrical law as the cause of the disturbance" (p. 461). Forty-

nine pieces are discovered to offend against the law of syllable equality—Lundius declares these pieces German. Likewise, thirty or more of the songs in the *Carmina burana* have especially impure rhyme (p. 476), the rhymes of the St. Omer songs are particularly pure, therefore "impurity of rhyme is a characteristic of German songs." And so on. And so forth.

I am not aiming at Lundius. His performance, or rather the vast detail of it, impresses me somewhat. Verse-tests carried out no more faithfully than his have blazed the way for our understanding of whole sorts and times of poetic effort; Chaucer, for instance, and his relation to fourteenth-century English meters. But we know Chaucer was an Englishman; who and what (man or men) was the Archpoet? We know within narrow compass the dates of Chaucer's writings. When was written "the great mass of hymns published in Mone and Dreves?" What did Walter of Chatillon write? Just the *Alexandreis* and a few stilted narrative poems, or a swarm of songs like those "commonly attributed to Mapes"? And finally, what text of a song may be trusted? That one which Wilhelm Meyer (to name but the great name) has "restored" shortly before he makes a sweeping assertion that "up to now I have found only in Germany Latin songs of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries with disparate number of syllables"? (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. I, p. 250.)

This tireless investigator has recently extended his study of the syllabic inequality in earlier Latin verses and believes the phenomenon to be caused by the influence of the old German four-stressed line (*Vierheber*); cf. "Ein Merowinger Rythmus u. altddeutsche Rythmik in lateinischen Versen," *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1908, pp. 31-81. But clearly as he is able to show the disturbing influence of such ictus on the usually schematic Latin line, helpful as the results of his study may be in strengthening our belief that certain poems are of German workmanship, there is undoubted danger, in the light of our present knowledge, in making the unsupported assertion that every Latin line whose syllables are apparently influenced by such ictus is German in origin.

Meyer himself cites the case of Dhuoda's poems (cf. Bondurant, *Le manuel de Dhuoda* [1887], pp. 47, 225, 228, 240; Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen* [1888], pp. 141-148). Dhuoda was married in Aachen in the year 824, was duchess of Septimania, and wrote her verses in Uzès near the lower Rhone. Meyer acknowledges that she scarcely can have had anything to do with German verse-makers, but surmises, on the basis of his syllable-test alone, that she may have been the daughter of a Frankish house, and either in her parents' home or in her own have come to know the agreeable, fresh and diversified Franco-German popular rhythms and to use them to enliven the monotonous Latin rhythmical form of her four poems. To the query why Dhuoda did not imitate the native, popular

Gallic rhythms, Meyer answers that the existence of old French and Provençal poems at that time must first be proved.

Except as contributory evidence, to join with other testimony of the paternity of a poem in order to establish its birthplace, I do not think we can yet accept either impure rhyme or syllabic inequality.

5. *Internal testimony (such as treatment of theme, symbolism, manner) may suggest an un-German source for a song.* This I believe to be the worst and the best of all five methods—according as we administer it. At its worst the method is utterly untrustworthy, for it is based upon some preconceived assumption. To give an illustration: There is a widespread belief, which I have already referred to, that German poets during the twelfth century, whether secular or clerical, were less able to write a correct Latin song than their French brethren. It may be true that the French were the authors of all the mediaeval Latin lyrics worth the having; but how shall we prove it? The Archpoet may still be a German, if you wish, and so may an occasional poet in the *Carmina burana*. It is unsafe to decide against an anonymous Latin lyric of springtime and love as a German production, just because one rather gathers without the slightest show of reason that to be German in the twelfth century one must be comparatively stupid.

At its best the fifth method is subjective. It demands that others see the matter as do we, and there is no absolute analytical test that it can employ to educe proof. But, if we are careful, this method leads to suggestive if not final results and joins with other tests to establish as great certainty as we may reach until fuller revelation comes. It is no preconceived assumption that the presence of one kind of style, diction, word-vocabulary, one manner of theme-treatment, one type of figurative imagery, has always been an inalienable part of popular German poetry. If we are right in thinking now and again that we get strong hints of such *volkslied*-symbolism in a Latin lyric, the presumption is that the latter is somehow German in origin. We don't know much about the stupidity of twelfth-century German lyric poets, but we do know something of their manner of writing; for it is on the one hand documented in early *minnesang*, on the other hand we may reason at times from the analogy of later texts. Just as surely do we know something of early French popularizing poetry: the *pastourelle* and the *romance*, for example. These types exhibit in their turn a certain style and diction. We cannot be sure all French poets that wrote Latin were bright, but we may decide that a Latin lyric is French in origin, if it show the verbal figurative atmosphere of a French *chansonnette*.

We need not be surprised to discover that the more mechanical and mathematical methods of studying a Latin lyric which was wafted across Europe for two centuries are not always the safest. Nor may we rightly

scoff at applying in our study the test of style and diction. Let us only mock when the application is not intelligently or honestly made.

"Modern" nature-sense.—It has been often felt that a dividing line may be established between antique and modern treatment of nature in epic and lyric verse. Nature description in the classical poets, particularly the Romans, is sometimes held to be a bye-production, an occasional embellishment, a thing to be done with a few strokes, more indicated than carried out in detail (cf. Baehrens, *Unedirte lateinische Gedichte* [1877], p. 35); whereas modern art has assigned to nature an independent importance, sentimentalizes its every delicate particular, discovers in it a latent sympathy for every possible human emotion.

I doubt if this difference of attitude toward nature should be made a criterion of different ages of poetic art. I believe it rather a distinguishing characteristic of separate kinds of poetry within the same period. One sort of nature treatment is epic (objective), the other lyric (subjective); the first kind views nature from without, the other sees it from within. Any period of poetic art of which we have full record would, I believe, show both attitudes. This statement is important for one reason, if for no other. We speak of the "evolution of nature-sense in poetry," as if it were something that grows from an original grain of mustard until it becomes a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Rather, I imagine, does this nature-sense dwell in every age, to come to fuller expression in such times as are most given to the writing of lyrical poetry. Did we not know for example that the following description of nature occurred in the Easter-sequence of Notker, we might well imagine it the work of Adam of St. Victor nearly three hundred years later:

Favent igitur
 resurgenti Christo cuncta gaudiis:
 Flores, segetes
 redivivo fructu vernant,
 et volucres
 gelu tristi terso dulce jubulant.
 Lucent clarius
 sol et luna morte Christi turbida;
 Tellus herbida
 resurgenti plaudit Christo,
 quae tremula
 ejus morte se casuram minitat.

Cf. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen*, Vol. I, p. 201, Schubinger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens*, p. 48, Winterfeld, *Neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. V, p. 355, Gautier, *Œuvres d'Adam de S. V.*, Vol. I, p. 82:

Mundi renovatio
 nova parit gaudia,
 Resurgenti domino
 conresurgunt omnia.

Similar nature-parallelism of a direct kind was frequent enough in secular poems of St. Gall and Reichenau, if we believe the testimony of the songs of welcome which Walafrid, Ratpert, and Notker addressed to visiting sovereigns, e. g.:

Innovatur nostra laetos
Terra flores proferens;
Ver novum praesentat aestas,
Dum datur te cernere.

Plus hodie solito radiat sol clarus in alto,
Cumque serena venis nubila cuncta teris.
Floribus arva nitent, quia te nos visere cernunt,
Foetibus atque solum germinat omne bonum.

Haec ipsa gaudent tempora,
Floreque verno germinant
Adventus omni gaudio,
Quando venit optatior.

There is nothing in the tone of these nature-pictures to remind one of the ninth or tenth century.

But, no matter! Suppose we feel it incumbent upon us to keep the adjective "modern" when speaking of nature treatment in poetry. Then we must make this word so elastic that it includes the fourth century of our era. For such verses as the *Pervigilium Veneris* or one of the poems ascribed to Tiberianus (not mentioned by Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*!) are colored by "modern" sentiment.

Amnis ibat inter arva valle fusus frigida,
Luce ridens calculorum, flore pictus herbido.
Caerulas superne laurus et virecta myrtea
Leniter motabat aura blandiente sibilo;
Subtus autem molle gramen flore adulto creverat:
Tum croco solum rubebat et lucebat liliis
Et nemus fragrabat omne violarum sub spiritu.
Inter ista dona veris gemmeasque gratias
Omnium regina odorum vel colorum Lucifer
Aureo flore eminebat cura Cypridis rosa.
Antra muscus et virentes intus myrtus vinxerant.
Roscidum nemus rigeabat inter uda gramina:
Fonte crebro murmurabant hinc et inde rivuli;
Quae fluentia labibunda guttis ibant lucidis.
Has per umbras omnis ales plus canora quam putes
Cantibus vernis strepebat et susurris dulcibus;
Hic loquentis murmur amnis concinebat frondibus,
Quis melos vocalis aurae musa zephyri moverat.
Sic euntem per virecta pulchra odora et musica
Ales amnis aura lucus flos et umbra juverat.

Cf. Baehrens, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

Recovering a song.—To reconstruct the text of a lyric poem on the basis of a single corrupt MS is technically an inadmissible thing. The temptation to do so has, however, assailed most investigators of mediaeval poetry and many have been their lapses from grace. For several years I was sorely tried by No. 89 of the *Carmina burana*. The theme of it was,

it seemed to me, "When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be," or as the libertine Serlo of Wilton expressed it: "Dum fero languorem, / fero relligionis amorem; / Expers languoris, / non sum memor hujus amoris." Cf. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques MSS*, Vol. I, p. 314; II, p. 213. We have a prose rendering of the same story in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*, cap. XVI (ed. Stange, 1851; cf. also Kaufmann, *Zeitschr. des Vereins für rheinische Geschichte*, Vol. I, 1862). The archpoet Nicolaus, fearing a mortalsickness, joins the Cistercians, but when danger is past he throws off his cowl with a jest and flees; cf. *Leipziger Blätter für Pädagogik*, Vol. VI (1872), p. 41. Our poem contains three eight-versed stanzas, indicating the liveliest sort of dialogue between a stricken son afraid of death and wishing therefore to take vows and a father who urges against such a step. At the end comes swiftly and without warning a quick break of mood worthy of Heine. These three stanzas form a whole that is light, witty, and dramatic, if we change two evident mistakes (*frater* thrice to *pater*; *floribus* to *fletibus*), and allow the substitution of the feminine gender for the masculine in the last three verses of the second eight-versed stanza). Without this change, the piece was, I thought, to be regarded as either incoherent or sodomitic.

Between the first two eight-versed stanzas, however, come ten quatrains didactic in tendency, retarding the action, broadly animadverting upon the contrasts of heavenly and earthly life. In a word, our poem at once becomes a *debat*, a *conflictus*. The wit of the poem is destroyed and the tone of it spoiled to modern notion by these interpolations. We have dozens of examples in the *Carmina burana* of patched-together songs. It is interesting to know that by treating No. 89 in a way which experience has seemed to justify in other cases, by removing part of it that ill agrees with the rest, by restoring a reading that may have been altered to suit the needs of a patchwork song, we have a lyric left us which is so unique an instance of clever humor as to stand strikingly forth. What perhaps took place was that a monk or clerk attracted by the dramatic quality of the piece, and its treatment of a theme which appealed to mediaeval taste—the antithesis of carnal and ascetic pursuits—turned a lyric into a *conflictus*. One of the most popular school-books in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the *Ecloga* of Theodulus, as Mr. Hamilton reminds me. It inspired many a *schularbeit*—it may have spoiled many a lyric (cf. Selbach, *Das Streitgedicht in der altprovenz. Dichtung* [1886]).

"Son: Father, quick with help and counsel, I'm dying and would be a monk. Father: A plague upon logic! It drives clerks to exile and wretchedness. But then you'll no more see him [her] you love, the poor pretty N. the clerk (the mistress). Son: Alack! Whatever to do I know not, I drift in the desert without help. Dry your tears, father, perhaps I am getting better—I've changed my mind anyhow and shall be no monk."

If such twisting of a song be considered idle trifling, let us remember the happy chance that led to Wilhelm Meyer's restoration of two songs out of two fragments, with some trimming of the crust that overlapped the edges of the pastry-tin! (Nos. 81 and 169). Two stanzas of No. 108 are a gloss made by boiling down Juveninus. A similar *denkvers* ruins No. 33. No. 174 is rebuilt of bricks from a demolished No. 36, and No. 176 owes most to No. 37, a little to Nos. 179 and CLXXXVI, and the rest doubtless to an as yet undiscovered source. So runs on the tale. And while I should by no means urge my restoration of No. 89, I cannot yet quite discredit it. Others presumably can—and will.

Peiper long ago called attention to the similarity between the verses in this song

O ars dialectica
Numquam esses cognita,
Quae tot facis clericos
Exules ac miseros,

and lines in the *Amphitryon* of Vitalis; cf. the editions of Osann (1836), Müller (1840); *Bibl. de l'Ecole des chartes*, 2^e ser., Vol. IV, p. 486, and especially Cloetta, *Beitr. z. Littgesch. d. Mittelalters*, Vol. I, pp. 68 ff., 152 f. "What reader of Freytag's *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*," asks Peiper, "does not at such a time think of the Gothic king Theodahad whose weak brain had been confused by Roman rhetors?" Cf. Müllenbach, *Comoediae elegiacae* (1885) and Peiper, "Die profane Komödie des Mittelalters," *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. V (1876), p. 518.

Popularity of *nugae amatoriae*.—We should not be too ready to believe that Peter of Blois's lighter songs possessed a popularity beyond the power of flood, fire, or ruin to destroy (*supra*, p. 65); that Abelard wrote lyrics which were on everybody's lips (p. 23); that Walter's poems resounded through all France (pp. 23, 67); that people generally knew of the mocking satires of young Bernard, etc. That sort of statement must be taken with as many grains of salt as must mediaeval ascriptions of poetry to a distant, unknown, or fictitious author. It was a common exaggeration in the Middle Ages to assume more or less world-wide popularity for mediocre performances. Thus in a letter of the late eleventh century (Ivonis, Carnutensis episcopi, epistolae lxvi, lxxvii) we hear the following about a poor bishop of Orleans: "Quidam enim concubii sui appellantes eum *Floram* multas rithmicas cantilenas de eo composuerunt, sicut nostis miseriam terrae illius, *per urbes Franciae* in plateis et compitis cantitantur." Thus again Wolter in his *Chronica brementis* speaks of a certain Otbert who early in the thirteenth century was known *everywhere* for his pretended miracles ("et fama ejus in omni terra personuit"): "carmina elegica fuerunt de eo facta et cantata in viis." Cf. Du Ménil

(1847), p. 5, n. 2; p. 193, n. 6. Examples of such hyperbole might be readily multiplied.

Lighter songs that were popular were ascribed to the famous churchmen and schoolmen of the Middle Ages, and conversely the songs ascribed to them were thought of as popular. Walter's boast of the vogue of his musical songs did not seem strange to that posterity which overvalued his *Alexandreis*. This bulky poem was one of the oftenest read school-texts until the sixteenth century; it was considered by many superior to the work of Vergil and Ovid; its maxims were quoted by writers of the Middle Ages along with the epigrams of classical authors (Giesebrecht, *Allg. Monatsschr.*, 1853, 369). It is easy to understand how students came to grant ready credence to overstatements regarding the wide dissemination of the school-lyrics of Walter and others.

Lyrics of reflection.—A dozen times I was near changing my discussion of the didactic lyric (pp. 32 f.), to include under a separate rubric *lyrics of reflection*. Moralizing poems are as a general rule without the pale of lyric expression, but if they happen to achieve individuality like Serlo's *Ego quondam filius* (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. V, p. 297; Werner, *Beiträge*, p. 147), if they are clothed in musical stanzas, if they gain and hold our sympathy, it is difficult to dismiss them unmentioned. Gröber (*Grundriss*, Vol. II, pp. 379–80) sufficiently indicates the type I mean, but when we study such a group of songs as he lists we discover that though they are at times briefer and simpler in cadence and rhyme than most *lehrgedichte*, the difference is apt to be but one of degree and not of kind. It was this sort of *planctus* that monks and clerks embellished and overloaded until the original appeal was lost in the euphuistic mazes of swollen diction. To choose but one example, and that of a high order of merit: the *Cygnus exspirans* (Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, Vol. IV, p. 351) is a poem of some direct effectiveness. It opens with a stanza that promises the best:

Parendum est, cedendum est,
Claudenda vitae scena;
Est jacta sors, me vocat mors,
Haec hora est postrema:
Valete res, valete spes;
Sic finit cantilena.

But scarce are we launched in the *planctus* which consists of 72 lines when acervation commences and simplicity ends. Judged by this standard several songs of the *Carmina burana* are of much lyric worth. These are not the famous *Versa est in luctum cythara Waltheri* (LXXXVI) although the refrains indicate it was meant to be sung, nor *Licet aeger cum aegrotis* (LXXI; cf. Wright, *Political Songs*, p. 44; Kingsford, *English Historical Review* [1890], p. 325; Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XXI, p. 145), nor *Ecce torpet probitas* (LXVII; with two refrains; cf. *Anzeiger f. Kunde d. d. Vorzeit*, Vol. VII, col. 294; Schreiber,

Vagantenstrophe, p. 168), nor yet any of the *planctus* in either Christmas play or Passion play (CCII, CCIII). Even No. VI, graceful as it is in manner, is hardly a song in point because of its grimness of conception and the generality of its phrasing. But Nos. X (*Dum juvenus floruit*) and LXIX (*Florebat olim studium* are musical, not over-earnest, individual in note, and sing themselves. The first runs:

Dum juvenus floruit,
Licuit
Et libuit
Facere quod placuit,
Juxta voluntatem
Currere,
Peragere,
Carnis voluptatem;

and the second is no less happy. The theme of its forty-eight verses is that the clerks are to blame for the decay of learning which in common with all things good is gone quite to the dogs. Scholastic allusion abounds; we hear of Brunel's ass (Nigel Wireker, *Speculum stultorum*), of Gregory, Jerome, the bishop Wikterp of Regensburg, Augustine, Benedict, Mary, Martha, Leah, Rachel, Caro, and Lucrece, but even this ill custom can not stale its infinite variety.

Had there been in all the range of mediaeval Latin lyrics further songs like these, they would have had separate place in the body of the study. But each in its own way these pieces are conspicuous for their isolation in the species to which they belong.

Frauenstrophén.—Curious, it seems to me, is the contention of Wilmanns (*Walther von der Vogelweide*, 1882, p. 165) that if the women-stanzas (cf. *supra*, p. 109) presuppose earlier lyric models than those of *minnesang* these must be songs of professional female minstrels such as can be shown to have existed in Romance countries at this time. "The position in life occupied by these girls permitted them to give frank utterance in song to devoted love and ardent longing, from which a natural reserve and feminine modesty withheld other women. During his Italian journey bishop Wolfger of Passau had opportunity to get such *puellae cantantes* to sing to him."

Even were it necessary to believe women composed the *frauenstrophén*, we should scarcely seek their origin in the performances of *miminnen*, *jongleures*, and *spielmänninnen*, for there is nothing in the presumptive work and calling of such creatures, in so far as we learn of them, that would inspire the tender lines under discussion.

Stimmungsbrechung.—To the examples of sudden break of mood instanced above (pp. 8, 91) add

Ecce laetantur omnia,
Quaeque dant sua gaudia, —
Excepto me qui gratia
Amicae meae careo.

(Du Ménil [1847], p. 234, from a xiii-century French MS). The same song contains a much simpler *minnegruss* than *Carmina burana* no. 82 (cf. *supra* p. 14):

Quot sunt arenae littore,
Quot folia in arbore,
Quot rami sunt in nemore,
Tot dolores sustineo;
Ob hoc infirmus corpore,
Quod hanc tenere nequeo.

Rursus quot sunt in aethere
Astra, vel quot sub aere
Homines credo vivere,
Tot vicibus congaudeo
Cum possum mane tangere
Quam semper mente video.

Literati and laici.—Add to the four quotations under this heading (cf. *supra*, p. 123, note 2):

Nuper ego didici, quod semper sunt inimici
Clerici et laici, solet hoc per saecula dici.

Cf. *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. III, p. 285. Schmeller in a note to the *Mass of Gamesters* (*Carmina burana*, p. 249) remarks that the following is written on the margin of the MS in a later hand than that of the original scribe: Omnipotens sempiternus deus, qui inter rusticos et clericos magnam discordiam seminasti, praesta quaesumus de laboribus eorum vivere, de mulieribus ipsorum vero et de morte Deciorum semper gaudere. In a mock-mass of a later time still Werner (*Beiträge*, p. 212) discovers a similar passage:

Audi nos. Nam rustici, qui sunt semper contra nos.
Da eis aquam bibere,
Da nobis vinum bonum consumere.

Vers.: Rustici sunt laeti
Quando sunt repleti
Resp.: Et sunt inflati
Quando sunt inebriati.

Deus, qui multitudinem rusticorum congregasti
Et magnam discordiam inter eos et nos seminasti,
Da, quaesumus, ut laboribus eorum fruamur
Et ab uxoribus eorum diligamur,
Per omnia pocula poculorum. Amen.

In the *Ass's Testament* (cf. *supra*, p. 134) the shoe seems to be on the other foot, for the dying animal of the rustic finds strength to make his will as follows:

Vocem dat cantoribus,
Collum potatoribus,
Virgam dat scholaribus.

Rhymed letters and laudatory odes.—Lack of space forbade quoting sufficient examples of the gallant and amorous versification (cf. *supra*, pp. 72-76) in vogue at the French schools in the twelfth century, to show how stilted and conventionalized it was. He who would learn at a glance the manner of such stereotyped utterance may conveniently do

so by running over several numbers of MS C. 58/275 in the City Library of Zurich (Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* [1905]: 48, 49, 66, 116-121) and contrasting them with popularizing *billets doux* such as no. 141 of the *Carmina burana*, which begins:

O mi dilectissima,
Vultu serenissima
Et mente lege sedula
Ut mea refert littera.
Manda liet! manda liet!
Min geselle chumet niet.

The Zurich MS was quite certainly the work of a German clerk who studied at French schools like Orleans and Paris and brought home to Germany with him this notebook, the fruit of his labors. It contains something of every type of poetry current in his day and gives an adequate idea of what was going forward at the time. A short consideration of the material in this book will convince any doubter that neither the goliard lyric or the popular lyric grew on any such trunk. There are but a handful of pieces among the four hundred which comprise the MS that have either life or the popular breath in them: e. g., nos. 15 of the Jew that fell into the privy; 90 Snow-child; 149 Spring-song; 197 Marbod's description of the beauty of spring; 342, 343 Two famous parting songs of the clerk off for school; 365 Confession of Golias; 386 Serlo's apostrophe to a mis-spent life—not a dozen numbers in all.

German fabliaux.—Although Bédier defines fabliaux as *contes à rire en vers* (*Les fabliaux*, 1895², pp. 28 ff.) he dates the first one 1159 (cf. his monograph on the 'fabliau de Richeut' in *Études dédiées à M. G. Paris*, 1891). Neglecting the German fabliaux of a much earlier time which are contained in the Cambridge MS, Bédier is thus able to establish his contes as distinctively French types, exemplars of the 'esprit gaulois,' etc. Ker (*Dark Ages*, p. 227) with a clearer because more unprejudiced vision writes as follows: "The comic literature of Germany has never had much credit from other nations, though they have been ready to live on it without acknowledgment, borrowing Till Owlglass and other jesters. In the Middle Ages Germany is ahead of France in a kind which is reckoned peculiarly French; the earliest fabliaux are in German Latin, with Swabians for comic heroes—the story of the *Snow-Child*, and the other *How the Swabian Made the King say 'That's a story.'* The former one with considerable elegance in phrasing tells a story fit for the *Decameron*; the other with less ambition gives one of the well-known popular tales—a monstrous lie rewarded with the hand of the king's daughter. The malice of the *Snow-Child* is something different from anything in vernacular literature till the time of Boccaccio and Chaucer; the learned language and the rather difficult verse perhaps helping to refine the mischief of the story. It is self-conscious, amused at its own craft: a different thing from the ingenuous simplicity of the French

"merry tales," not to speak of the churlish heaviness of the worst among them." Ker could have added to his enumeration of early German fabliaux the tales of Heriger and Alfrad, at least, without exceeding Bédier's definition, even if it should be felt that *Unibos* (Gevatter Einochs), and certain shorter animal tales like *Priester und Wolf* or *Hahn und Fuchs* scarcely came within the category.

Other *lügenmärchen* that have come down to us in the early poetry of the cloister are the *Three Brothers and the Goat* and *Notker's Mushroom* (cf. *Poetae aevi Karolini*, Vols. II, p. 474, IV, p. 336; *Neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. V, pp. 347 ff., Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, pp. 15 ff.), one written by Notker, it may be, the other by Ekkehard IV. When we recall the droll tales mentioned above, when we remember the precious humor and satire which breathes at times in the *Gesta Karoli* (Eishere, the Goblin and the Farrier, the Bishop and the Jew) and the *Casus Sancti Galli* (Heribald and the Hungarians, the Scourging of Sindolf, Hadwig at the Hohentwiel), when we view Wichart's son's satire *De amicitia et conubio* (Keinz, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. IV, p. 145), Walafrid's reply to Probus, Ermenrich's yarn about Homer, Orcus and the Louse, Liutprand's story of the pranks of Emperor Leo, or Rather's fable of the Frog and the Mouse—it is difficult for us to credit the statement that the first *conte à rire en vers* was French and of the year 1159.

Tenth-century culture.—In an earlier essay (*Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 424) two records of the tenth century are used to bring into sharp contrast the dulness and the brilliance of imagination which characterized that time, and to prove that offhand summing-up of this period as one of gloom is inadvisable. Bartoli, for example, to quote but one incisive critic among many, says: "Il medio evo non pensa: esso non ha che un sentimento solo predominante, quello dell' oltremondano, che lo preoccupa, lo assorbe, lo atterrisce e lo inebria" (*I precursori del rinascimento*, p. 19). Better far than Bartoli's one-sided assertion is Ker's setting-off of Gerbert of Rheims and Rodulph Glaber against each other: "Gerbert is followed in literary history by Rodulphus, like a hero with a comicsquire: Rodulphus represents the permanent underlayer of mediaeval absurdity above which Gerbert rises so eminently; the two together make it impossible to arrive at any easy generalization about the culture of the Dark Ages. Gerbert's letters are those of a man for whom there were other interests besides rhetoric and philosophy, they admit one to a close acquaintance with the very life of that obscure time, and a knowledge of actual motives and character. Some of his short notes have the same kind of reality as Cicero's, being not records or reflections but practical agents in a great revolution. Rodulphus' book is one of the most authentic renderings anywhere to be found of the average mind of the time—both in the contents of the mind, visions, portents, stories, and in its artless,

movement from any point to any circumference. He has sometimes been treated too heavily, as if the whole Middle Age were summed up in Rodolphus Glaber. That is not so." (*Dark Ages*, pp. 198 f.)

In other words, the tenth century like any other was a time of many possibilities. So far as the lyric is concerned, monks were apt to write monkish odes, minstrels were quite as sure to compose musical songs. There is no lyric poem out of earlier cloister-life warmer than Walafrid's *Elegy to Home* (*Poetae aevi Karolini*, Vol. II, p. 412), but the Cambridge MS alone is sufficient to show what the minstrels were doing. We should not interpret the culture of the tenth century in terms of either type by itself.

Profane lyrics in Latin plays:—Taylor has shown (*Modern Philology*, Vols. IV, pp. 605 ff., V, pp. 1 ff.) the influence of Middle English religious lyrics on the development of the drama; cf. also Thien, *Über die englischen Marienklagen* (1906). Wechsler performed a like service for the Romance planctus (1893) and Schönbach for the German (1874). Bibliography in Taylor, p. 606, note 1, and Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, Vol. II, p. 39. The former promises soon a paper on the influence of the satire of the day upon Corpus Christi plays; it is to be hoped he will extend his work to include the didactic lyric and the lyric of reflection. But no one has as yet undertaken to examine all the evidence that exists to show how dependent the mediaeval church- and school-plays were upon the profane, erotic lyrics of their time.

Santangelo (*Studio sulla poesia goliardica*, pp. 46 f.) made a beginning by grouping together the Latin lyrics which occur in Christmas and Easter plays in three instances (*Carmina burana*, nos. 202, 203; Du Méril [1847], p. 213). One can scarcely blame Gerhoh of Reichersberg and Herrad of Landsberg for their censure of ecclesiastical plays, if many of them contained such verses as those employed in the Benedictbeuern Easter play (*Carmina burana*, pp. 92, 149, 275; a completer version in Hauréau, *Not. et Extr.*, Vol. XXIX, ii, p. 314); of which it will suffice to give the last two stanzas:

Respondenti metus
Trahit hanc ad fletus
Sed natura laetus
Amor indiscretus
Queam
Lineam
Jam pudoris tangere,
Meam
In eam
Manum mittit propere.
Dum propere,
Vim infero,
Post imminente machina.
Nec supero,
Nam aspero
Defendens ungue limina
Osserat introitus.

Tantalus admotum
Non amitto potum;
Sed ne meum totum
Frustrat illa votum,
Suo
Denuo
Collo jungens brachium
Ruo,
Diruo
Tricaturam crurium.
Ut virginem
Devirginem,
Me totum toti insero,
Ut cardinem
Determinem,
Duellum istud resero.
Gloriar victoria.

It is difficult to determine in the light of such evidence whether songs like these were inserted in dramas for the purpose of lending the required tone of wordliness, the desirable contrast to the godly conversation elsewhere employed, or whether the opportunity was taken to introduce scabrous material for its own sake.

The Meaning of "goliard."—Schönbach complains that council-decrees and synod-statutes which deal with the attitude of the church toward the popular festivals and entertainments have not been investigated with sufficient care and accuracy. He demands that Spanish enactments of the seventh century which have been handed down in transcripts be not utilized in determining the state of German culture during the twelfth century (*Die Anfänge des Minnesangs*, p. 3). Now the first decree regarding goliards is the order of Gautier of Sens (d. 913), the last is the *concilium Frisingense* (1440), more than 500 years apart. These statutes are given in Germany, France, and England; some of them speak of the goliard specifically as of a certain class of person, some of them—particularly the later ones—treat him as any sort of entertainer. It is equally dangerous to generalize from one of these decretals or to particularize from them all together. Santangelo (*op. cit.*, p. 14) asserts: "I goliardi furono giullari e non scolari vaganti: proverò che non furono nemmeno poeti, cioè gli autori della poesia goliardica." This statement is doubtless true of some goliards in some country at some time between the Dark Ages and the Renaissance—Chaucer's *goliardeys* for example was a miller and no clerk. But as a general contention Santangelo's remark is uncritical, for in many of our references to goliards we have but examples of the heaping-up of words so dear to the mediaeval mind. Cf., for instance, the meaningless lists of names included under "familia Herlekini" (Driesen, *Der Ursprung des Herlekin* [1904], pp. 33 ff.)

Der Marner (*floruit ca. 1230*) was a clerk who wrote Latin songs, five of which have descended to us (cf. Strauch, *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. XIV [1876], pp. 94, 129; *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vols. XXII [1876], p. 254, XXIV [1878], p. 90; Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*. But Marner was at the same time a common player and minstrel and has informed us somewhat scornfully what a varied stock of goods the *spielmann* had to have within his roll (cf. Strauch, XV, 14 and 16, pp. 124, 127). Some of his wares were the old heroic tales and myths, some the courtly *minnesang*. In the former content mattered, not the shape of the recital (*der wigt min wort ringer danne ein ort*; "my words they hold not worth a doit"), in the latter it was the poetic setting that the audience cared for. And Marner was ready with every sort from the simplest German saw to the polished Latin ode on the Abbot of Maria-Saal or the *Jam pridum aestivalia* (*Carm. bur.*, No. 95; Zingerle, *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, Vol.

LIV [1866], p. 319). Konrad Marner therefore furnishes an interesting phase of the goliard situation in the thirteenth century, but it is not safe to generalize too much from this single instance.

Goliath < *gula*.—Thomas Wright in proposing the etymology Golias from *gula*, "gullet, throat, palate" (*Latin Poems* [1841], p. x) was but following the authority of writers from twelfth century to fourteenth. Gerald of Barri's well-known description of Golias in the *Speculum ecclesiae*. "Item, parasitus quidam Golias nomine nostris diebus gulositatem pariter et leccacitate famosissimus" contains a play upon words still popular in Piers Plowman: "a goliardeis, a gloton of wordes." But this derivation springs like many other similar ones from the inexplicable English delight in punning, or at least from the distressing habit of paronomasia so common to mediaeval scholasticism. An etymology thus born should be viewed askance as the following passage proves. I quote fully for two reasons, first, because of the evident appositeness to our theme; second, because I do not think the passage is well-known. I found it in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Classical Series), Vol. I, Part V, p. 62: *Glossae in Sidonium* (twelfth century):

Leccatorum multa genera. Quidam enim dicuntur mimi, quidam balatrones, quidam nebulones, quidam nepotes, quidam scurrae, quidam lenones, quidam histriones, quidam parasiti, quidam pharmacopolae, a pharmaca quod est unguentum et pole quod est vendere. De mimis dicit Horatius in Sermonibus Ambubaiarum collegia pharmacopolae Mendici mimi balatrones hoc penus omne Maestum ac sollicitum est mei pro morte Tigelli. Et notandum quod balatrones dicuntur a baratro quod est infernus. Dicitur autem baratrum quasi voratrum quia omnia devorat. Inde balatrones quasi voratores, quia propria devorant et aliena consumunt. Dicuntur nebulones a nebula quia ad modum nebulae transit gloria eorum. Vel quia aliena vitia per suas adulationes obcaecant. Dicuntur nepotes a nepa serpente quae suos fetus devorat. Scurra proprie appellatur vagus qui de domo ad domum discurrit ut ventrem satiet. De quibus bene dicitur, Quorum deus venter est. Unde Magister Serlo Scurrae jejuni te contra guttura muni. Lenones dicuntur conciliatores stupri. Unde quidam egregius versificator Leno ferre pedem talem non debet in aedem. Hac habitare domo debet honestus homo. Histrion dicitur ab historon quod est adulari. Unde quidam in cantilena sua Meretur histrio virtutis praemium, Dum palpat vitium dulci mendacio. Parasiti dicuntur quasi parantes situs hominum vel quasi juxta parapsidem siti.

Archipoeta and Walther von der Vogelweide.—More than thirty years ago Martin remarked certain correspondences between Walther's verse and goliardic poetry (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XX, p. 66): "Doch es liesse sich auch sonst wol so manches in Walthers gedanken und ausdrücken mit der lateinischen vagantenpoesie vergleichen: nicht nur als *minnedichter* deren scholastik ja auch bei den andern mhd. lyrikern nachwürkt, sondern auch als mahner zum kreuzzug und gegner der römischen curie waren ihm die fahrenden kleriker vorausgegangen." The same statement recurs in Burdach's *Walther von der Vogelweide* (1900), pp. 37, 42, 184 f., although it has never been subjected to a thoroughgoing analysis: "Nach dem Vorbild der lateinisch dichten-

den Vaganten gestaltet Walther die deutsche volksmässige gnomische Dichtung der Spielleute in seiner Weise um. Er wird ein Nachfolger der Spervogelschen Schule und zugleich des Archipoeta. Das muss auch auf seine *Liebespoesie* entscheidend einwirken, sie von Grund aus umgestalten." "Er ist der erste ritterliche Sänger, der halb und halb das Leben und die Kunst der Fahrenden, der Vaganten sich aneignet. Er muss wie seine Vorläufer, der Spervogelsche Kreis und die Goliarden, nach der Gunst der Herren streben." "Die lateinische Vagantendichtung lebt in diesen Vorstellungen. Der Archipoeta verherrlichte in überschwänglicher Weise das staufische Imperium . . . Ihm erscheint Friedrich Barbarossa als neuer Karl der Grosse . . . Walther, auf den die Vagantenlieder vielfach eingewirkt haben, mag wohl auch von diesen Stimmen enthusiastischer Kaiserverherrlichung geführt worden sein."

Now if these things are true, and there is at present no good reason to doubt them, it should be the duty of someone carefully to gather and sift the philological evidence, that it can be adduced as proof. Until this is done we cannot know how direct the influence which mediaeval Latin poetry exercised on Walther's political and love lyrics. For of course another possibility always exists, viz., that both Latin and German poems were modeled after a Provençal (French) original.

Recently (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XLVII [1904], p. 319) Martin has cited various themes and phrases of Walther's which are analogous to passages in Andreas Capellanus' *De Amore* (ed. Trojel, 1892) a book written in the last decade or two of the twelfth century (cf. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. III, p. 44). But how far Martin is justified in terming Andreas' work "a Latin source of German minnesang"—that still remains to be seen.

Early minstrelsy.—I hesitated to include in my list of early Latin minstrelsy (Part I, pp. 44 ff.) the verses which Heyne recovers (from *Opera Gregorii Turonensis*, edd. Arndt et Krusch, Vol. II, p. 651) regarding the *spielmann* of King Miro. Cf. Heyne, *Altdeutsch-lateinische Spielmannsgedichte des X. Jahrhunderts* (1900), p. xxiv. They are supposedly of the year 589:

Heu, misero succurite
Oppresso mi subvenite,
Adpenso relevamini
Et pro me sancti Martini
Virtutem deprecamini,
Qui tali plaga affligor,
Tali exitu crucior,
Incisione disjungor.

The minstrel (Reich, *Der Mimus*, Vol. I, p. 826, calls him *hofnarr*) disobedient to the command of his lord Miro tries to pick a bunch of ripe grapes in the arbor before the portal of St. Martin's Church. His hand is caught as in a vise and his arm begins to wither. At first the *spiel-*

mann laughs and pretends it is all one of his trade tricks, but the pain soon overcomes him and he cries out in anguish: "succurite, viri, misero, subvenite oppresso, relevamini, adpenso et sancti antistitis Martini virtutem pro me deprecamini, qui tali exitu crucior, tali plaga adfligor, tali incisione disjungor."

Sequence and Leich.—In connection with the claim that profane song was born of the sequence (Part I, p. 6) it is interesting to recall that Lachmann wrote in 1829: "When I can produce Latin poems which two hundred years before the *leiche* have just the *leich*-form, dactyls and all but without rhyme; when these poems although in part secular are descended from church-music and from a very similar form that is still about a century older; then I dare say no one will hesitate to derive the *leiche*, and with them the dactylic rhythms, from ecclesiastical poetry" (*Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. I, p. 334). Later Lachmann prints the Cambridge poem on the snow-child and the *modus Ottine*, remarking (p. 339): "These poems are themselves apparently only a development of the sacred type whose inventor was Notker Balbulus."

Bibliographical notes.—The "literature" devoted to many of the topics discussed in the foregoing study is extensive. It seemed unnecessary, at times impossible, to present all of it or even much of it in footnotes without overburdening my pages beyond endurance. My annotation therefore contents itself with being suggestive and nowhere attempts to be completing. In a few instances I have cited the title of a book which I have not personally studied, but on the other hand have refrained from mentioning much that did not seem essential. I have assumed that there is small need of listing recondite sources of information when convenient bibliographies are easy of access, when such collections as Chevalier's *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* (Vol. I² [1905]; Vol. II [1886]), and Hauréau's *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins* (6 vols., 1890-93) are at the command of every student of mediaeval philology. This hesitation has left certain longer notes in doubtful shape. Perhaps I would better have added to my references on the snow-child (p. 7, n. 1) Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde* (1879), pp. 101 f.; and (as Hamilton suggests) Dunlop-Liebrecht, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, pp. 41, 499, 522, 542; R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. III (1900), p. 564. I omitted these titles as they offered no new version of the theme treated. Or again in dealing with the Goliath tradition I might have left out certain references, if I did not care to enlarge upon the matter and include others such as Hauréau, Vol. I, p. 387; III, 197; IV, 233, 282-86, 330; VI, 215; *Not. et Extr.*, Vol. XXXII, part 1; Martin, *Observations sur le roman de Renart*, pp. 15, 51. The name of Santangelo in this note, for instance (p. 24), reminds me that I did not list the interesting reflections of other Italian writers such as

Gabrielli, Corradino, Straccali, Ronca, Novati, etc. It seemed, however, that this would be merely to speak by the card and therefore ill-advised.

Page 13, 26.—For Grosseteste substitute William of Wadington; cf. Robert of Brunne's *Handling Synne*, ed. Furnivall (1903), vv. 9045 ff. On the *danseurs maudits* cf. Paris, *Journal des savants* (1899), pp. 733 ff.

Page 15, note 1.—Hertz's notes are abundantly added to by Schönbach in his *Studien zur geschichte der altdeutschen Predigt*, Part II (1900), pp. 56–89 (= *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.*, Vol. CXLII, 7th essay).

Page 19, 32.—Rand thinks the *delusor* possibly suggested by Terence's own retorts to his critic Lanuvinus. "Mediaeval scholia on Terence may help out on this point—there are suggestive remarks in those published by Schlee, but nothing definite enough to cite." The form of the poem reminds of the *Ecloga Theoduli*. On the study of Terence in the Middle Ages cf. Magnin, *Bibl. de l'École des chartes*, Vol. I, p. 524; Riese, *Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymnasien* (1867), p. 442; Köpke, *Hrotsvit v. Gandersheim* (1869), pp. 152, 159, 183; Creizenach, *Gesch. d. neueren Dramas*, Vol. I (1893), p. 17; Cloetta, *Beitr. z. Littgesch. d. Mittelalters*, Vol. I (1890), pp. 2, 4; Gabotto, *Appunti sulla fortuna di alcuni autori romani nel medio evo* (1891), cap. 6 "Terenzio;" Abel, *Die Terenzbiographien des Altertums u. des Mittelalters* (1887); Dziatzko, *Neue Jahrb. f. Phil.* (1894), p. 465; Manitius, *Philologus* (1894), p. 546; Sabbadini, *Studi ital. di filol. class.* (1897), p. 314; Francke, *Terenz u. d. latein. Schulkomödie* (1877); Herrmann, *Mitteil. d. Ges. f. deut. Erzieh.- u. Schulgeschichte* (1893), p. 1; Galzigna, *Fino a che punto i commediografi del rinascimento abbiano imitato Plauto e Terenzio*, Pt. 1 (1899); Santoro, *La Taide in Terenzio e in Dante* (1902). Several of these titles I owe to my colleague, Mr. Beeson.

Page 27, note 3.—The monk of Froidmont is now generally believed to be Helinant; cf. *Les vers de la mort*, edd. Wulff et Walberg (*Société des anciens textes français*, 1905), p. vi. The sermon from which the quotation is made was probably preached in 1229 (cf. *ibid.*, p. xxvi).

Page 35, 5.—For example, the *Quondam fuit factus festus* and the *Sermo noster audiatis* (cf. Wilh. Meyer, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1908, pp. 406 ff.). The first of these has exactly the same stanza-form as the "Ave," the identical continuous rhyme of the seven-syllabled lines in *ia*, the second one is evidently a close formal copy of the first. Both the poems depict the lowest scenes of monastic life in the vulgarest diction. Interesting, but unanswerable, is Meyer's question, if the *Quondam fuit* did not suggest to the authors of the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* the stylistic device of mocking the old-fashioned university people by having them write ungainly Latin.

Page 38, 22.—Cf. Tobler, *Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil.*, Vol. IX, pp. 288 ff.; Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo* (1896)², Vol. II, pp. 112 ff. (Engl. transl. [1895], pp. 325 ff.); Novati, *Carmina medii aevi* (1883), pp. 15 ff., *Attraverso il medio evo* (1905), pp. 51 ff., 95 ff.; Valmaggi, *Lo spirito antifemminile nel medio evo* (1890); Pascal, "*Antifemminismo medievale*," *Poesia latina medievale* (1907), pp. 151-84. All necessary references and bibliography are given in one or another of these studies.

Page 41, note 1.—For "we know" in l. 2 substitute "Hauréau believes;" and after "Roger" in l. 8 read "who does not share Hauréau's enthusiasm."

Page 42, 23.—For the best recent discussion of *De cuculo* cf. Pascal, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 ff.

Page 53, note 1.—I should perhaps have added to the note regarding May-fête origins reference to the discussion and bibliography contained in Jeanroy's article on "Les chansons" (in Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, Vol. I [1896], pp. 362 ff., 403 f.).

Page 61, notes 1 and 2.—I might have omitted these notes if I had had access to Ronca's study "La prima poesia d' amore in Italia dopo il mille," *Fanfulla della domenica*, Vol. XIII, No. 6.

Page 82, note 2.—Wilh. Meyer would doubt the statement that minstrels wrote well in Romance long before the middle of the ninth century. He says (*Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1908, p. 40): "The most distinguished poets were the writers of Latin quantitative hexameters, inferior to them were the authors of Latin rhythms. But those who attempted to make verses in the different national languages or in one of the many dialects were least esteemed. In France and in the Romance countries Latin was understood by even the least cultured. Therefore a need or a desire for texts in the vulgar tongue did not arise in France till much later [than in the eighth century]. The oldest poems in French that we possess originated in a period when Latin rhythmic poets already observed carefully the scheduled number of syllables, when sequences were already composed in which the same number of syllables was maintained: Ph Tongis paribus metricata phalanx reboet ac librata (*von der Gegenstrophe*, Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. X, p. 150). Naturally then even the oldest French rhythmic poets enumerate their syllables carefully."

Page 85, note 1.—Add the title "Das erste Gedicht der Carmina Burana" (*Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1908, pp. 189 ff.), in which Wilh. Meyer shows no. 66 to be the merest fragment of the poem *Manus ferens munera* (cf. Wright, *Walter Mapes*, p. 226).

Page 87, note 6.—Add Bartsch, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur* (1872), p. 26; Ronca, *Cultura medievale*, p. 152.

Page 105, note 2.—For further reference to popular tales and songs in mediaeval French sermons cf. Bourgain, *La chaire française au xii. siècle* (1879), pp. 227 ff., La Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge* (1886)², pp. 284 ff.

Errata.—It seems unnecessary to list all the minor slips in spelling and type contained in the preceding parts of this study: they are evident to any careful reader. Thus, "Robinson" [p. 26, n. 1] should be "Robertson;" "Stephan" [p. 23] is "Stephen;" "a" [p. 40, l. 13] should be "as," etc. But I do not wish to be thought deliberately guilty of the plural form "conflicti" [p. 28] and certain other instances of questionable Latin which were allowed to escape revision because of a confusion in the proof-sheets.

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THE MEDIAEVAL MIMUS

PART I

Historians of literature generally assign the parentage of the mediaeval minstrel—spielmann, troubadour, and trouvère—to the Roman *mimus*. I do not. I propose to examine the literary records of the so-called Dark Ages in Europe, to show that the living poetry of this time did not derive from the Roman *mimus* either directly or indirectly, that it was rather the instinctive and native art of its own day. Before we move a foot, however, it is necessary to define the word *mimus*. As used by critics it means three things:

1. A dramatic performance popular in Rome until the fall of the empire.

2. Any sort of realistic imitation of life—skit, dance, poem, song, juggling, pantomime, acrobatic feat, trained animals—in short, Roman vaudeville.

3. A Roman vaudeville artist or entertainer.

It is absolutely useless to speak of *mimus* as the source of mediaeval minstrelsy unless we know at each step just what is meant by *mimus*. First then let us find out what we may about it.

1. *Mimus*: Dramatic Performance

There are three types of *mimus* which are sometimes considered dramatic: (a) Mimic Drama, the sole remnant of which is *perhaps* No. 413 in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus;¹ (b) Sung *Mimus*, the sole remnant of which is *perhaps* the "erotic fragment" of Grenfell, which Wilamowitz reconstructed and called the "Maid's Lament;"² (c) Recited *Mimus*, like those of Sophron, Herodas,³ and Theocritus (especially Nos. ii, xiv, xv).

¹ Edd. Grenfell-Hunt, Part iii (1903); cf. Winter, *De mimis oxyrhynchis* (1906), dissertation.

² *Göttinger Nachrichten* (1896), pp. 209 ff.; cf. also Leo, "Die Plautinischen cantica und die hellenistische Lyrik," *Göttinger Abhandlungen* (1897); "Die Komposition der Chorlieder Senecas," *Rheinisches Museum* (1897), pp. 509 ff., and "Der Monolog im Drama," *Göttinger Abhandlungen* (1908), p. 117.

³ The mimes of Herodas [or Herondas] are now available in Sharpley's excellent verse-translation *A Realist of the Aegean* (1906).

Of these three types of *mimus*, however, no one is necessarily or even presumably a dramatic performance.¹ There is no reason why the confused enthusiasm of Reich² or the fluent narrative of Chambers³ or any evidence which we as yet possess should lead us

¹ Wilamowitz says (*Hermes*, Vol. XXXIV [1899], pp. 207 f.): "What are the mimes? Surely no dramatic type. The narrator makes his appearance either in the market-place or in a private dwelling, later in the place which is called 'theater' [*schauplatz*], because everything an audience wants to see can be better viewed there. The narrator can be just as well compared with the *γελωτοποιοί* of the West as he can with the aristocratic rhapsodists of the East, who likewise recited pieces of Archilochos and Hipponax. He imitates with drastic comic effect various voices, as is demanded by the dramatic action of his narrative, but in antiquity it was never forgotten that the heroic epic itself belonged to the *γένος μεικρόν*, and the iambus offered the like alternation of voices. Theocritus' 'Adoniazusai' and 'Simaitha' were surely recited first by him. That is no book-poetry; of course he was not writing a book. And in the same way Herodas imitated him in the iambus. Whether a single speaker appears, as in his Keeper of the Brothel, or quite a number, as in his 'Asklepiazusai,' that is all one. God forgive those who believe this sort of thing was really played!"

Sudhaus is equally decided (*Hermes*, Vol. XLI, pp. 269 f.): "A pronounced conservative tendency and a clarity as to the requisites and aims of their art enabled the mimes to remain what they were, and prevented their merging with the higher drama. As numerous utterances prove, the mime was always conscious that his main task was character portrayal. Doubtless for the entertainment of audiences he did play comedy, produce spectacular pieces, and give such farces as the *Charition* of Oxyrhynchus, which might be termed a scurrilous *Iphigenia* but no longer a real mime. He never forgot, however, that *ῥημοποιία* and the picture of life was his true field, and our piece (Oxyrhynchus 413) shows us how, despite a comprehensive action, the whole object of a mime could be made the sustaining of a single character-rôle. If one lays aside pure jugglery and the low types of mimesis, the mime is nothing but *ῥημοποιία*. It is no drama, for how could a form be drama which can do quite without *δρῶμενα*? Action which is everything for a drama is only incidental to the mime, the mime can even exclude action entirely."

² Reich invented the "great mimic drama" in his book *Der Mimus*, Vol. I (1903), although no example of it had descended to us. Later when Grenfell published Oxyrhynchus 413 Reich seized upon it as proof that his "drama" had existed and restated his position in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Vol. XXIV (1903), coll. 2679 ff., as follows: "From the time of Alexander the Great there arose in the larger Hellenic cities of the Orient the great mimic drama, growing out of the sung and the recited mimes. This so-called mimic hypothesis mingled prose and lyric parts, arias, and cantica. It soon won the stage of Rome and became Latinized. Philistion is the classic of the Greek hypothesis, Publilius Syrus and Decimus Laberius are the great names in the Latin derivative. Throughout the Graeco-Roman empire, in Europe, Asia, and Africa people received the mimic drama with acclaim, rulers and emperors cherished it, and later even the church fathers could not drive it from popular favor."

Unfortunately, the facts in the case do not bear out Reich's contention. In a recent and detailed study of the "Mimus von Oxyrhynchus" Sudhaus remarks (*Hermes*, Vol. XLI [1906], pp. 274, 277): "Reich's invention of the great mimic hypothesis, which flourished as early as the third century B.C. but had then to wait three centuries to find its classic in Philistion, deserves no confutation. It is urgently important to point out that Reich's constructions for the most part do not withstand examination, and that his predecessors, whom he does not treat in very friendly fashion, judged in many things more rightly than he. I say this particularly with reference to several verdicts in Horowitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient* (1905)."

³ The opening chapter of Chambers' *Mediaeval Stage* is entitled "The Fall of the Theaters," and he employs therein without definition the words farce, mime, spectacle, performance, stage, theater, plot, and actor. But an examination of his sources shows

to believe it. Theorize about the matter we can, but proofs are lacking.

At first, perhaps, the dramatic mimes *were* low-comedy pieces and farces which shared their popularity with comedies of a higher sort, like those of Plautus and Terence; at first, perhaps, the sung and recited mimes *were* witty dialogues, satirical reflections, topical hits, dramatic portrayal of the life of the day, which alternated at entertainments of the great houses with author's readings, like that of the *Querolus* for example.¹ Both publicly and privately, that is, a definite and skilful dramatic art lent itself to the realistic reproduction of life. But even if this is true of the older character of the mime, when the decay of culture came a change ensued. The mime degenerated until it pandered to the worst instincts of humanity.

2. *Mimus*: Roman Vaudeville

Paegnon was the word for everything beneath the "legitimate" or dramatic type of *mimus*.² If anything mimic was fitted to endure across the fifth century into the European world of the Dark and Middle Ages, surely it was paegnon.

For one might be blind and yet enjoy himself. There was music both vocal and instrumental, there was the squealing and grunting as of pigs, there was the imitation of every animal's bleat, squawk, or bellow. One could be deaf and not miss overmuch, for there were sketches from all types of low-life and side-street, knockdown farces, take-offs, and acrobatic turns. One need not even understand the jargon of the players for an evening's fun, but could go like the

quickly that there is no evidence that any "mimic drama" was ever "acted" in any "play-house" in Rome. Nor will further study uncover such evidence. Cf. Jahn, *Prolegomena ad Persii satiras* (1843); Grysar, "Der römische *Mimus*," *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, Vol. XII (1854); Führ, *De mimis Graecorum* (1860); Hörschelmann, "Der griechische *Mimus*," *Baltische Monatschrift* (1892); Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas* (1892); Hauler, "Der *Mimus* von Epicharm bis Sophron," *Xenia austriaca*, Vol. I (1893); Nairn, *The Mimes of Herodas* (1904); Glock, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. XVI (1905).

¹ The *Querolus* (or *Aulularia*) is announced by its author to be not for public presentation but for recitation in the circle of friends, for sociable entertainment, and for the amusement of a dinner party. Cf. Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Vol. I (1890), p. 2.

² Cf. Reich, *Der Mimus*, Vol. I, pp. 417 ff. Sudhaus (*loc. cit.*, p. 265) and Körte (*Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* [1903], p. 538) make paegnon the generic term for all representations of real mimes, and consider it the general rather than the subordinate title.

modern tourist to *tingeltangel* or *variété*, sure of his reward. Who would not laugh if his host Trimalchio blew out his cheeks like a bugler, if a slave made mimic music on an earthen lamp and ate fire? Whose face would not burn at the nakedness of person and pantomime and words, which, to quote Plutarch, "intoxicated and stupefied the spirit more than strong wines?"¹

3. *Mimus: Roman Entertainer*

The preceding paragraph on paegnion has told us what to expect of these entertainers. Whatever they may have been in earlier times, in the fifth and sixth centuries the profession of *mimus* was not free from admixture of every kind. *Histrion*, *prestigiator*, *scenicus*, *tragoedus*, *comodius*, *thymelicus*, *scurra*, *saltator*, and *mimus* are so variously glossed by early commentators that we are at a total loss to separate the "*artes lubricae*" which they professed. Sidonius, who must be expected to know, says that the *histriones* boasted of doing the same thing as *Philistio*, but *falsely*. Cassiodorus specifically refers to a certain Sabinus as "*histrion*, *equorum moderator et auriga*," to a Thomas as "*auriga, maleficus et magus*." The mimes were dramatic performers of one sort and another, reciters of obscenest jokes, charioteers, high-jumpers, dancers, magicians, sleight-of-hand workers, and ill-doers generally. We are transported from the stage, from the realm of private theatricals, to the tent of the circus and to the lascivious pleasures of dinner tables. Let us be not misled to think the thing otherwise. The men appear in motley or harlequin dress, the women more or less naked. One indulges in *rodomontade* and the absurdest boasting, another gives imitations of human customs and characters, a third portrays lewd matters: to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals a man or woman enters and plays the rôle of prostitute, pander, adulterer, or drunkard. A fourth is conjurer. Any sort of coarse comedy, grimacing, imitation of the cries of animals is welcome.²

Such, then, is the Roman *mimus*, performance and performer, which the Germans knew from the fourth century on at least, and

¹ Cf. *Table-talks*, VII, vii, 4. The unspeakable lasciviousness of Theodora's pantomime which Procopius cites was probably nothing rare.

² Cf. Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung im xi. und xii. Jahrhundert*, p. 12.

knew undoubtedly in three different ways: (1) from personal acquaintance in Italy whither a tribal migration had led them; (2) from hearsay and from the graphic description of returning wanderers; (3) from personal acquaintance in Germany, whither the mimus from the earliest historical times, sallying forth from Roman frontier garrisons, penetrating ever farther, followed the steps of the southern merchant. These things I believe, and I also believe that some Roman mimes outlasted the sixth century a while and continued their profession in Romance territory as late even as the age of Charles the Great, though by no means so long in strictly Germanic territory. Some European minstrels doubtless owed certain of their tricks and turns at first directly or indirectly to mimes. But that the two—minstrel and mime—were for long centuries largely identical, I do not believe, and nothing in the records makes such a creed imperative, or even appealing.

Germanic scop

We are often so occupied in trying to discover what the Germans learned from Italy, that we forget to wonder just what manner of things they brought to Italy with them. The early records concerning Germanic singers and Germanic poetry are too incomplete to give us much definite information. From epic sources like the Anglo-Saxon *Widsith*, *Beowulf*, and *Deor's Complaint* we hear, as we should expect, only of a scop or epic singer. And historical works such as the chronicles of Cassiodorus, Priscus, Paulus Diaconus, and Jordanes, tell us naturally enough of the scopas who sang songs celebrating the deeds of their national heroes, and tell us of no other sort of German poet or poetry. But silence upon a point of this kind means necessarily nothing.

However this be, early epic poetry may be divided into two classes in any of three ways: (1) its origin, (2) its form, (3) its content. That is, (1) whether it was communal [choric] or artistic [individual] in source and utterance; (2) whether it was a ballad [divided into stanzas of an irregular number of verses] or a rhapsodic poem [a continuous series of long-verses without stanzaic division]; (3) whether it was hymnic song in praise of the gods and legendary heroes, or a song celebrating the deeds of great and important his-

torical personages.¹ But, whichever of these three manners of division we adopt, the result is largely the same: two kinds of poetry are the result. The first kind is an old traditional type of epic expression, presumably a common Germanic heritage from the Aryan past; the second kind is, it may be, a gradual development within historic times, coming perhaps into full swing in the fifth and sixth centuries, and including even songs of compliment to members of a ruling dynasty.² The Germanic scop undoubtedly had in his repertory both kinds: "mythische heroendichtung" and "historische heldendichtung." Of the one he was certainly the coryphaeus, of the other, so far as we know, he was the creator.

Was there a professional Germanic jester?

We know about the scop: a distinguished epic singer, often the vassal of a king, honored, praised, and rewarded with the meed of hero.³ Was this the only class of professional entertainer the Germanic peoples knew before their association with the Romans in the fourth and fifth centuries? Did the Germans of their own initiative not go in for realistic comedy and low farce of any kind?

From the records that we now have we cannot argue either for or against the existence of German entertainers of the lighter sort (mountebanks and minstrels) among the Germanic races previous to and during the tribal migrations. Even such mention of satirical

¹ I am not sure that I think much of any of these three methods of classification. In a forthcoming article on Epic and Romance I shall try to deal with old Germanic epic poetry, not as it should be, but as it is.

² Such as those from which Cassiodorus got his list of the ancestors of Amalasuintha, daughter of Theodoric. Cf. *Variar. lib.* xi, cap. 1; Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum*, cap. 14, 17, 48; *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XII, p. 253; Kelle, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I (1892), pp. 10 f.

We have no proof that a heroic poetry celebrating the deeds of historical personages did not exist among the earliest Germans, except for the silence of Tacitus regarding the matter, and this is not proof. If this type of poetry was comparatively late, it is interesting to remember that it was either sprung from, or given its greatest impulse by, the poetically gifted Goths. It was two Goths who sang before Attila of his victories, the *citharoedus* Theodoric sent Clodovech was perhaps a Gothic scop (and not an Italian mimus), the Lombard Alboin (*Ælfwine*) is mentioned in *Widsith* (the Goths exerted strong influence upon the epic song of their neighbors the Lombards); and most important of all, most of the popular epic legendary material which has descended to us is of Gothic origin—Ermanrich, the Harlungs, Theodoric, Helme, Witig, Hildebrand and Hadubrand, perhaps Walter of Aquitania; except for the Frankish myth of Siegfried, the Nibelungen story is a poetic work of the Burgundians, a race most closely associated with the Goths.

³ Cf. Köhler, "Ueber den Stand berufsmässiger Sänger im nationalen Epos germanischer Völker," *Germania*, Vol. XV, pp. 27 ff.; Vogt, *Leben und Dichtung der deutschen Spielleute* (1876), pp. 4 f.; Anderson, *The Anglo-Saxon Scop* (1903).

songs as Ausonius makes in the *Mosella* is too vague to be of service,¹ and other references are either too confused or too late in date.² But while it is impossible to present evidence in proof that the early Germans had light entertainment and lyric song as well as heroic ballads, while speculation on this point often leads to purely dogmatic statement,³ it is always worth remembering that some of the comedy and realism, some of the lyrical forms of expression that we meet in Europe from the eighth century on, may be sprung from indigenous roots.⁴ That race which first of the modern cultural nations of Europe gives us merry stories, humorous songs, satires, and lyrics must have borrowed well, if they fetched this whole art from transalpine territory!

¹ For we do not know that the dwellers in the Moselle region during the fourth century were Germans. Cf. *Ausonii opuscula* (*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores*, Vol. V, ii), p. 87, and Kögel, *Pauls Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 49.

² Laughter-smiths there were in England at the time when the *Exodus* was written (43 *wæron hleahtorsmiðum handa belocene*; a reference apparently to the magicians of Egypt; cf. Blackburn, *Exodus and Daniel* [1907], p. 37), but even if *hleahtorsmið* denotes a certain class of entertainer, this profession is not necessarily of early date or of native origin. Little definite is known regarding the functions of the northern *pulr* [who Müllenhoff asserts was the continuator of the entire Northern poetic tradition; *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. V, p. 300], but certain passages (e. g., *Fafnismál* 34; *Hávamál* stanzas 110-37) indicate that Mr. C. N. Gould is justified in believing commentators have regarded him too seriously. The *Haraldskvaði* (or *Hrafnsmál*, ca. 900) speaks of jesters and jugglers: *leikari, truðr*. "Andaðr pets a dog without ears, plays foolish tricks and causes the king to laugh. There are also others who, it is said, bear a burning stick of wood through the fire, they have stuck blazing hats beneath their belts [!], these men who deserve a kick." *Truðr* translates *scurra* in the Vulgate describing King David playing on the harp like a rough *truðr*. The juggler was known to Ireland as early as the ninth century or earlier. Professor A. C. L. Brown calls my attention to *clessamnach* in the "Sick Bed of Cuchulinn," an ancient story in the Dun Cow MS (Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Vol. I, p. 206: "sing and act the part of jugglers") and another saga "The Destruction of Da Derga's Palace" tells of the juggler *Tulchuine* and of the three jesters at the fire (Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, pp. 391 f.; Whitley Stokes, *Revue celtique*, Vol. XXII [1901], pp. 286, 311).

³ Simply because such speculation is so apt to confuse poetic impulse and poetic achievement, because it assumes that since Germans *may* have had certain literary forms at a given time they actually *did* have them,—Kelle thus ascribes to the Germans of the first century sword-dance and drama (*schauspiel*), incantations, gnomic verses, and very possibly satires, love-songs, dance-ditties. Scherer accords even the old Aryans love-songs "in which a feeling for nature and the inner life were harmonized or contrasted;" cf. Scherer, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. I, p. 697 and *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*¹⁰, p. 7; Heinzel, *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. X, p. 49. Kögel assigns them satirical songs (*Grundriss*, p. 49): "Satirical poetry must have been current at an early period among a people with whom gnomic verse was a favorite form. Common to both types of poetry is epigrammatic acumination, they are different in that satirical verse is made for singing."

⁴ I ponder at this juncture the words of Tacitus (*Annales*, Bk. I, chap. 65): "Nox per diversa inules, quum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subjecta vallum ac resultantis saltus complerent" and (*Historiae*, Bk. V, chap. 15): "Nox apud barbaros cantu aut clamore, nostris per iram et minas acta."

Now critics have felt that the mediaeval jongleur and spielmann are children of the Roman mimus for three reasons:¹

1. They have thought mimus as a dramatic performance existed as late as the fifth century.

2. When they met the term mimus (and its synonyms joculator, scurra, thymelicus, histrio) in records from the fifth to the tenth century, they believed this term to mean the same that it did in pre-Christian Rome.

3. No other ancestry for early mediaeval realistic art was visible to them, because of their preconceived idea that the Dark Ages could not bear such fruit unaided.

1. *Fifth-century drama*

If there had been a mimic drama in Rome when the empire fell there would indeed be ground for the assumption that it lived on into the Middle Ages, but all the records cited by Reich² furnish no weightier arguments for the existence of such a drama than Grysar was able to produce fifty years before.³ In fact these very records show clearly enough that such a drama did not exist, for they are in large part the observations of men who were in a position to know of what they spoke, and nowhere, as Glock shows convincingly step by step, do they speak of mimus as a dramatic performance.⁴ We may therefore once and for all dismiss the specious theory of Reich and Sathas⁵ that either in Europe or in Asia a definite mimic drama lived on into the Middle Ages.⁶

¹ A fourth "reason" given by Piper in his *Spielmannsdichtung* (1887), p. 3, I scarcely have the heart to cite; it sounds so absurd. He says: "That the unity of Roman scurra and German minstrel is an actual one is proven by the identity of their characteristic traits." Such reasoning, however, is not unique with Piper, as an examination of Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter* (1851), pp. 351 ff.; Köpke, *Ottomische Studien* (1869), Vol. II, p. 176, will show. If such argument count for aught, many a performer on the modern *Überbrett* is likewise "identical with the Roman scurra."

² In his book *Der Mimus* (1903).

³ *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, Vol. XII (1854), pp. 331 ff.

⁴ *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Literaturgesch.*, Vol. XVI (1905), pp. 27 ff.

⁵ *Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεάτρον τῶν βυζαντινῶν* (1878), a view recently upheld by Tunison, *Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages* (1905), although sufficiently disproved by Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur 527-1423* (1897)², p. 644; see also Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. I, p. 17.

⁶ Therefore Chambers is in error when he says (*op. cit.*, p. 83): "The Roman mimus was essentially a player of farces; that and little else. It is of course open to any one to suppose that the mimus went down in the seventh century playing farces, and that his like appeared in the fifteenth century playing farces, and that not a farce was played

We may then disregard the words of Heinrich Morf and of any other historian who finds actors engaged in dramatic production in Europe during the Dark Ages,¹ for such words must for the present at least rest either on pure assumption or on the insecure and disingenuous combinations of Emil Reich.

2. *The term mimus and its synonyms in records of the Dark Ages*

More than thirty years ago Paul Meyer assigned to the mimi the beginnings of both Provençal and French literature² and Leon Gautier agreed with him.³ Gaston Paris, with what would appear a surer insight, believed the mediaeval minstrel represented a merging of the mimi with the Germanic scopas.⁴ Meyer says:

The point of departure for both [Provençal and French literature] is the same, and it is indeed humble. Testimonies which have been more than once collected, and which follow one another from the end of the Roman empire far into the Middle Ages, teach us of the existence of a class of individuals designated by the ancient names of *scurrae*, *thymelici*, later *joculatores*, public entertainers. They cross, without disappearing, the distress of the Merovingian and Carolingian eras. We meet them again in the eleventh century flourishing throughout Gaul.

Now let us see what Meyer has done. Without specifying in any case just what the work of these mimi was (*scurrae*, *thymelici*, *joculatores*) he makes this work of theirs the point of departure for

between. But is it not more probable on the whole that he preserved at least the rudiments of the art of acting, and that when the appointed time came the despised and forgotten farce blossomed forth once more as a vital and effective form of literature?"

¹ Morf says in his "Die romanischen Literaturen" pp. 144, 441 (*Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, xi, 1 [1909]): "From the days of the church fathers on there was no lack of clerical invective against the mimus. When because of the political and social downfall of the Roman empire the wealthy class and the great centers of culture had vanished, the Roman theater likewise fell, the drama disappeared, and the dramatic troupes crumbled and scattered. The mimus who till now had lived in companies of actors journeyed alone or with his mima as a wandering player through a world which had become barbarian. He amused his audiences by the practice of every profane art—music, singing, joking and juggling. The soil that had fostered his expensive maintenance in companies was gone, and thereafter dramatic operations on a large scale gave way to individual performances of a precarious and petty sort. The name mimus yielded to the title jocolator ("jongleur"). As jocolator scenicus this person is the continuator of that comic theater which, although outside of written tradition, existed in Romania through all the centuries."

² *Romania*, Vol. V (1876), p. 260.

³ *Les épopées françaises*, Vol. II (1892)², pp. 4 ff.

⁴ *La littérature française au moyen-âge* (1890)², p. 36; cf. also Chambers, *Mediaeva Stage* (1903), Vol. I, pp. 23 ff.

mediaeval Provençal and French literature.¹ Why does he do this? Because mimi in Rome furnished one sort of entertainment and mediaeval minstrels in central Europe furnished another sort of entertainment five hundred years later, and in the interval between the two the ancient names for entertainer, *scurra*, *thymelicus*, etc., are continued. Although I believe the looseness of this method is obvious I shall be at some pains to show how illogical I think Meyer's contention is.

Of course the ancient names for entertainer continue all through the Dark Ages, and deep into mediaeval times; we hear again and again of mimi, *joculatores*, *scurrae*, etc. Why should we not? *Mimus* had meant and long continued to mean entertainer, juggler, minstrel, poet. If a man of high or low degree chanced to be regarded by the common people of the seventh, eighth, or ninth centuries as an acceptable poet, that man was called *mimus*.

Of course the names continue. We hear of mime in sixteenth-century France²—in the farce *Maistre Mimin*—and much has been made of the fact. Why not make much of the fact that we have mimes and minstrels and jugglers in the twentieth century? Could

¹ If we make one thing the literary source of another, if we make the work of Roman mimi the source of the work of mediaeval jongleurs, then we mean the first thing is the direct and ascertainable source of the second thing. We do not mean that vaguely and despite our utter lack of proof the first thing is in a general sort of way perhaps in its age what the second thing is in its later time.

If we find, that is, in the work of any mediaeval jongleur forms, phrases, types of expression or of character, themes, ideas which are identical with, or similar to, the manner of Roman mimi, then and only then can we make mime spiritual ancestor of the jongleur. But if all these matters with which the work of the jongleur has to do are referred back to fifth-century Roman mimi simply because the Latin words for entertainer are not done away with in the records which mark the interim between that time and the time of the jongleur, then we have no right to make Roman *mimus* spiritual ancestor to mediaeval jongleur.

For, if such a thing were permissible, we could trace back our mediaeval mimi to an antiquity more hoar than that indicated by the mimic dances to the phallic, fat-bellied spirits of fertility in the ninth century B. C. Schröder, proceeding from the theory of Silvain Lévi and Hertel that certain dialogue-songs in the *Rigveda* are texts of the oldest known dramatic-musical performances, has recently made it likely that these songs owe their inclusion in the canon of the book to their use as mysteries or cult-dramas. The hymns in burlesque manner he regards as mimes, one of which he calls "The Drunken Indra" (quoted from the review by E. H. in *Litterarisches Zentralblatt* (1909), col. 19, of von Schröder's *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* (1908). It would, indeed, be a long line of honorable descent if we might thus trace our way from Gerhard Hauptmann (see Reich, Vol. I, p. 894) to dances which occurred centuries before the mimic poems in the *Rigveda*. But who would call the author of such a mimic poem from, say, 1500 B. C. a spiritual ancestor of Hauptmann!

² Cf. Reich, *Der Mimus*, pp. 849 ff., and Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire du théâtre comique en France au moyen-âge* (1886), p. 156; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, p. 83.

the continuance of these names not be made to mean that we of today owe all our realistic portrayal in literature, all our magic of the theater directly to the Roman *saltimbanques* who set some Trimalchio's dinner table in a roar?

Names continue. All words do which symbolize general concepts. We hear of "comedy" and "tragedy" all the way from barbarian Rome to this very day; likewise of "epic" and "romance" and "lyric."¹ But who will claim that there is a constant tradition of any one of these great divisions of literature from then till now? They have come and gone, risen and faded and fallen—the pressure of a changing world has shaped them. Church and popular festival, old religion and new philosophy, time of reform and season of indulgence, ephemeral fads and enduring verities—these are all mirrored somewhat in the realistic prose and poetry of the period which separates us from the dead past. And this sort of thing we owe by direct tradition to Roman *saltimbanques*? I doubt it.²

¹ Comedy and tragedy during the Middle Ages were completely lost sight of except in name; cf. von Schack, *Gesch. d. dramatischen Lit. u. Kunst in Spanien*, Vol. I (1854)², p. 25; Piper, *Archiv. f. Litteraturgesch.*, Vol. V (1875), p. 494; Cloetta, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Glock, *op. cit.*, p. 29. The epic is dead and yet the name is on the lips of all exactly as if it existed today; modern romances are very different things from mediaeval ones, etc. But who could read these things clearly from casual mention of the names of these literary types in widely separated records?

² In "a general way" everything reverts to something before it; in "a general way," then, modern jugglers and mimes are descended from ancient prototypes, just as modern stone-masons or cobblers are. (I choose cobblers because of the fine irony with which Winterfeld dismisses Herzog's contention that no connection existed between ancient and mediaeval mimes: "Also—Schuster gab es, bloss sie konnten keine Schuhe mehr machen?" Cf. *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV [1905], p. 49, and *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* [1904], No. 34.) Why try to make modern cobblers the children of Roman shoemakers of the fifth century? The boots of barbarian Rome are not the boots of nowadays. They differ in shape, color, materials, size, cost, method of making, purpose, and appeal. Of what avail to build up a theory regarding them in Rome and the direct indebtedness of modern boots to them, on the basis of numerous references to boots, shoes, slippers, pumps, and spats in chronicles and decretals of the Dark Ages, particularly if these references are unfailingly confused and indistinct?

The danger of misreading such records is obvious. A pamphlet of Kelle's is at hand to furnish a clever illustration (*Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, Vol. CLXI [1908], No. 2) of the absurdity to which the hunting of reminiscences of German paganism in mediaeval decretals may lead. "Chori saecularium," "cantica puellarum" we learn with a sigh are not the uproar of dance-rounds, not the immodest sport of girls' songs forcing their way to the ears of nuns in the cloister, as Wackernagel imagined; nor are they profane lays and ballads of maidens which early in the ninth century, according to good pagan custom, still crowded into the church and its vicinity and later were sung on holidays in the street and in houses, as Müllenhoff and Scherer asserted. They are just plain statements concerning the religious anthems of the laity and the hymnic songs of nuns. We can not even have longer, "it seems, the heathen sacrificial meal in connection with "convivia in ecclesia."

3. *No other ancestry than Roman mimus visible?*

It is still difficult for us to regard the tenth century sanely. Our attitude, which should be simply one of historical understanding based upon an examination of the relevant facts, is apt to be one of either admiration or reproach. Adulation, if we are still under the spell of that nineteenth-century Romanticism which substitutes poetry for philology and gives us delicate analyses à la Simrock of the nature myths, the heroic legend, the theogony of northern antiquity.¹ Reproach, if we generalize from purely fortuitous or incidental sources of knowledge and hark back to the sermons, the satires, and the church-penitentials to show that in the tenth century intelligence was at a low ebb and moral integrity extremely rare.²

But if the critic of this time tries to free himself from preconception of it and proceeds toward a sympathetic insight into its life through careful study I cannot see how he will fail so to appreciate its achievements as to believe this tenth century incapable of producing fresh and realistic prose and poetry of its own initiative, and quite without the aid of any Roman vaudeville performer or his descendant. For the tenth century is in many ways a great age.

A thirst for knowledge is in it, as in the sixteenth century, even though both periods are in a sense times of preparation and of unfulfilled promises.³ The humanists Richer of St. Remy and Gerbert of Rheims are not more isolated phenomena than were Thomas Platter and Johannes Butzbach.⁴ A sheer delight in worldly literature penetrates every monastery.⁵ Monks cultivate profane themes,

¹ Cf. Uhl, *Winiliod* (1908), p. 1.

² Cf. Scherer's essay "Mittelalter und Gegenwart" in *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (1874), pp. 322 f.; also Charles Langlois, *La société française au XIII^e siècle* (1904)², pp. ii-xvi.

³ See Scherer's interesting comparison of the two epochs in his *Gesch. d. deut. Dichtung*, pp. 2 ff.

⁴ Read of Richer's trip from Rheims to Chartres, that he might see the *Logic* of Hippocrates, *Richeri historiae*, ed. Waitz (1877), Bk. IV, chap. 50, and Ker's account of Gerbert, *Dark Ages*, pp. 198 ff. Nothing seems to warrant Egger's view (*L'hellénisme en France*, Vol. I, p. 51) that such figures as Richer and Gerbert in the tenth century, Scotus Erigena in the ninth, are exceptions and prodigies.

⁵ Notker Labeo, for example, was urged to translate into German not only the *Bucolics* of Vergil, but the *Andria* of Terence; cf. Kelle, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I, pp. 233 f. We also recall how Godehard, on assuming his duties in a new cloister, had Horace and Cicero's *Letters* sent to him. For further reference to monastic study of "frivolous" literature cf. Scherer, *Geistliche Poeten der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (1874, 1875), 2 vols.

and minstrels themes from sacred story.¹ Scherer's division of the poets of this day into two parties: one guild the ecclesiastics, the pillars of Christianity and of all really Scriptural culture in literary form, the other guild the minstrels, the wandering folk-singers, the inheritors of paganism and its poetry, cannot be accepted.² Nor did these two guilds "fight each other tooth and nail."

Monks and minstrels get their material everywhere,³ wander far in search of it, incorporate it into chronicles and collections of exempla and stories and thus lay the foundations for the innumerable chapbooks and romances of future ages. A literary tradition is begun for the lighter forms of art, one that feeds and parallels oral transmission. We meet now not only the phrase "in cantilenis prisceis cantantur" but "in veteribus libris legitur."⁴ Particularly after the coronation of Otto I in 962 do clerks and minstrels journey indefatigably southward, to come back freighted with strange wares in the way of tales and entertaining poems; many a jovial monk and scholar sets this contraband of religion into Latin lines. Soldiers and peddlers back from Italy, eager to boast, eager to please, con-

¹ The *Gesta Karoli* has profane themes. Fableaux (schwänke) and mendacious songs (cantilenae mendosae) fairly sprout in the cloisters and grammar schools of the cathedrals. Many of these have their origin in definitely-known occurrences and in connection with the games and holiday pranks of the pupils. Such license as Fitz-Stephen tells of in the monastery schools of a later day existed at least as early as the ninth century, and no occasion was too trivial for its exercise. Witness how the youth "sang mocking songs of Notker when they had drunk wine," [so tuont noh kenuôge, singent fone démo der in fro únreht uuéret] how Gunzo of Novara was lampooned in mischievous verses (lascivulis versibus) by a youngster of St. Gall because the famous grammarian had used an accusative for an ablative. For other records see Kelle, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 205 f.; Allen, *Modern Philology*, Vol. VI, pp. 21, 398. Godehard, bishop of Hildesheim (1022-38) proves that monks and clerks are authors and amateurs of profane realistic poetry when he says: "Quoddam autem talium genus, illorum scilicet, qui vel in monachico vel canonico vel etiam Graeco habitu per regiones et regna discurrunt, quos et Platonis more Perypatheticos irridendo cognominavit, illos, inquam, prorsus exprobrando quasi execrabatur."—*Monum. Germ. hist. Scriptores*, Vol. XI, p. 207. On the other hand the minstrels often took their subjects from sacred legend and story: the theme of little John the monk is from the *Vitae patrum* (cf. Allen, *Modern Philology*, Vol. V, p. 468), the Triumphus Sancti Remacii (eleventh century) is by a "cantator quidam jocularis" (*Monum. Germ. hist. Scriptores*, Vol. XI, p. 456), etc.

² Cf. Scherer's essay on the intellectual life in mediaeval Austria in his *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, p. 130.

³ Minstrels borrow their materials from the old myths, the animal-fable, legend, heroic story drolly distorted (*Saleman and Morolt*), history, and daily life. "In this way a multitude of German tales, legends, and fableaux certainly owe their origin to the activity of these minstrels in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. This time was apparently the richest quarry for them."—Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen, Lieder*, p. xix.

⁴ De fundatione monasterii Tegrinsee; Pez, *Thesaurus anecdotarum novus*, Vol. III, Pt. -ii, p. 493.

tribute their quota. The old story is being retold: German armies are crossing the Alps, sweeping victoriously over northern Italy (this time Lombardy), stopping a while near the center of the world's culture to gather their spoils of war, streaming homeward laden with booty, some of gold—most of civilization and of art.

Now this is the sort of age which critics think could not bear rich fruitage of its own. And so we are asked to find its origin in the Italian mimus. Heyne pictures these mimi¹ increasing in German territory during the migration period, venturing out singly or in troops to the village or the isolated manor, following the bands of warriors, presenting in camp their pantomimes, puppet-shows, sword-plays, gladiatorial exercises, and arts of legerdemain.² He says these mimi outlasted the migration period and continued to thrive during the following epochs.

Let Johannes Kelle continue the tale.³ He has gathered his information from the most diverse sources from fourth to thirteenth century and this is the result: In the beginning of the ninth century, ever increasing in numbers, there roamed throughout the Frankish empire the descendants of the old mimi and histriones, who had become completely demoralized in the Merovingian epoch. Pipers, drummers, fiddlers, singers, dancers, jugglers, blood-letters, barbers, cuppers⁴ had likewise in the ninth century become indispensable to the Germanic people, much as the latter despised them because of their un-German venality and their insatiable greed. They added luster to every festive occasion by their dances, obscene songs, topical hits, and legerdemain. The Roman mimi were everywhere most welcome guests, but especially at wedding banquets.

And Winterfeld may add the epilogue: In the middle of the eleventh century he thinks "it would seem a matter of course that mimes shot out of the earth like mushrooms after a rain," he avers

¹ In his essay on "Unehrlliche Hantierungen" in *Das altdeutsche Handwerk* (1908), pp. 101 ff.

² These phrases of Heyne are apparently based upon no surer a foundation than the moonlit picture by Freytag (*Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Vol. II, Pt. i, pp. 445 f.) of the well-known passage in Procopius (*De bello vandalico*, Bk. II, chap. 6) "Roman jugglers and mimes presented before the bloody Vandal hordes the obscenest pantomimes." Cf. Crome's preface to *Das altdeutsche Handwerk*, p. vi.

³ *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 70.

⁴ This list is from the *Sachsenspiegel*, ed. Homeyer (1861)³, p. 194.

that Notker and Roswitha owe the best of their work to these mimi, and ends by saying that only through the mime and his continued existence can one understand and explain the literary development of the centuries.¹

We are, then, asked to believe the following: Roman mimes before and after the fall of the empire spread northward in the pursuit of their profession. They adapted themselves so snugly to the ideas of their new environment, by catering to old social needs and creating novel ones, that they handed down their art from father to son, from teacher to pupil for eight centuries. They became the mouthpiece for every sort of popular entertainment outside the pale of literary transmission.

Now, if this be so, we can discover the traces of these thousands of all-important people not only in the sorry lists of their class-names in dusty chronicle and decretal, but here and there and everywhere in the lighter and more realistic writings of their day. We shall find, as Winterfeld wants us to, these mimi peering out from behind fables, tales, romances, dramas, fableaux, satires, historical poems, sacred ballads, and lyric poems.² And here I shall look for

¹ *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV, pp. 74, 49.

² There is something illogical in according the mimi during the Dark Ages a lion's share in molding and continuing all the realistic and popular themes of these times, and at the same breath excluding them from active participation in that one enduring form of poetic narrative and expression which for centuries as yet unnumbered held the German fancy captive: the heroic epic. Ages before the minstrel-romances *Herzog Ernst* and *König Rother* Winterfeld's mimes should have "polished up the motives of native heroic legend with adventurous journeys and coarse jokes," if these mimi are what he supposes them to be. Then too, we should find an explanation for some things in Ekkehard's *Waltharius*, and it would be the descendant of a Roman mime who furnished accidental plot and bye-work for the materials of the Latin Nibelung-story.

If I were convinced these southern mimi played the rôle in the literature of the Dark Ages which Winterfeld pretends, I should not hesitate to find in their activity an explanation for various puzzling matters in the early transmission of German popular epic stories and legends. No false "piety" would deter me. A fine characterization of such "piety" breathes in Michel Bréal's essay on the first influence of Rome on the Germanic world (*Journal des savants* [1889], pp. 624, 626, 697). I should believe, for instance, that the heroic songs of the Goths were first and best and most enduring of all Germanic popular ballads because they came closest to an appreciation of the work of the Roman mimi and were most affected by it. If such mimes as Winterfeld's were mine, I should understand why much of the older epic material was in the form of a comparatively short dramatic ballad (Ker, *Epic and Romance* [1908]²; Heusler, *Lied und Epos* [1905]), not one that could be used as a single chapter in the framework of a long narrative epic, but a compact and individual unit. For I should realize how close such work is to other effort of which Winterfeld suspects the mime: historical ballad, for instance.

Bédier (*Les légendes épiques* [1908]) has recently had strange tales to tell us of how certain *chansons de geste* originated and first achieved their popularity. Whatever acceptance his conclusions may gain in the field of French epic legends, one matter of

them. Now unless I discover traces of their handiwork here in no uncertain way I shall disbelieve—as I have good right to—that there is any connection between Roman mime and mediaeval jongleur and spielmann. It is, of course, in the literary records of the Dark Ages that I shall hunt, for if the thread of continuity snap at this point, it is little likely that it was ever thereafter mended. And now to work.

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general import he has given us. He has shown that epic ballads (heroic songs) did not mysteriously evolve the moment some conspicuous deed of prowess was done, and then go echoing in oral transmission down the centuries until some tardy mediaeval person wrote a romance based upon these ballads. Rather was a deliberate art requisite at the beginning, and literary instead of oral preservation to be supposed. Now as the brightest and most adaptable poets in Europe for six critical centuries or so were the descendants of Roman mimi, if they were as Winterfeld supposes, it would be they who accounted for the humor and life of older epic material, for the first-hand description of it, for its realism and its dramatic pressure. Such mimi would then teach us why the German epic is not one sort of thing: an unalloyed alliterative poetry, the treasured formula of generations of scopas, but rather a mosaic of elements, diverse in manner and matter, wherein we find lyric and pastoral and dramatic and gnomic ingredients.

Were Winterfeld's mimi mine, I should account for the disappearance of the old alliterative poetry and the appearance of end-rime, not by saying it sprang from a degeneration or torpescence of the stave-form itself, but hold it due to the influence of Latin popular poetry brought into Germany by mimi. I should then believe the fall from favor of the old-fashioned harp-playing vassal the result, not of the rise of the Frankish empire and the consequent decline of the smaller courts, but of the new popularity of Italian mimi. The demoralization, or humanizing, of the mythical elements in heroic poetry, the appearance in it of new personalities (Henry, the Ottos, their supporters and opponents), the newer sort of epic poetry dealing with contemporary events—these things might find explanation, not so much in the national consciousness which Germany developed under the Saxon emperors, as in the successful practice of poetry by the guild of Italian mimi. A shorter type of lyrical popular ballad which appears in the ninth and tenth century might, too, be conditioned by new music and melodies introduced by mimi—if they were only such as we are asked to believe them.

Modern Philology

VOL. VIII

July, 1910

No. 1

THE MEDIAEVAL MIMUS

PART II

I certainly did not suspect, when in an earlier part of this essay I promised to examine the literary records of the Dark Ages for traces of the mimi, that anyone would question the reasonableness of my search. But quite recently Edmund Faral has asserted that hunting in these records for Latin mimi is love's labor lost. He says

Périssable comme la joie des banquets et des fêtes qu'ils égayaient, l'œuvre des mimes s'est perdue. Du chant des poètes il n'est rien resté de plus que de l'adresse éphémère des saltimbanques. . . . En fin de compte, il y a deux choses que, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, il faut renoncer à savoir: c'est s'il y a une relation entre les poèmes latins que nous avons conservés et les œuvres des mimes; c'est ensuite, si cette relation existe, quelle elle est. On ne peut élever ici que de frêles conjectures. Si les mimes ont chanté, leurs chants ont été enfermés avec eux dans le tombeau, et ce qu'il en est resté dans la mémoire de leurs contemporains s'est éparpillé, déformé et perdu.¹

I admit being frankly bored by *obiter dicta* such as these of Faral's. Neither he nor anyone else knows what a careful search will bring about until the material has been personally examined. I am as impatient as Faral, or any other student, of that unfortunate tendency in modern investigation: viz., to examine with brave display of erudition every stray bit of philological evidence that exists regarding the mimus, and then to jump to any conclusion which suits the irresponsible whim of the historian. For this evident

¹ Cf. *Les jongleurs en France au moyen-âge* (1910), 14, 16.

fault Faral rightly censures Paul von Winterfeld, and I agree with him. But not to examine whatever evidence we possess as to the existence of Latin mimi during the Dark Ages, and then to denominate them straight out the fathers of the mediaeval jongleurs (and Faral does this) is a highhanded proceeding.

How can Faral be so sure that the work of the mimi was as perishable as the gaiety of the banquets which they enlivened, unless he look about him to make sure? There is *a priori* no more reason why an eighth- or ninth-century chronicle should not catalogue the repertory of the mimus, than why a thirteenth-century Provençal novel should tell us so much about the activity of the jongleurs. If, that is, the mimi did sing the popular songs and tell the popular stories of their day, as the later jongleurs did, why then it seems to me almost imperative that we search the literary records of that day, almost sure that we shall come across their traces in these records.

To discover what the jongleur was doing in the Middle Ages, one has but to turn to *Flamenca*¹ and learn how he played on every conceivable musical instrument and had at his tongue's tip every popular song and story in Europe; but we can only theorize about what the mimus was doing in the Dark Ages in the way of song and story. Faral asserts that during the Dark Ages the mimus was doing what the jongleur did later, only that the former's repertoire was much smaller. And I say that Faral has no right to an opinion in the matter, because he confessedly places no reliance upon the literary records in his search for mimus, because he trusts implicitly in the historical records of the Dark Ages.

Now these historical records are unfortunately not only mute as to what songs and stories the Latin mimi brought into Europe, but they are untrustworthy sources as well for any specific knowledge regarding their exact activity. We have seen above and we shall see again below how little value can be accorded the indiscriminate lists of various classes of popular entertainers contained in the historical records Faral prizes so highly. The reasons for this untrustworthiness and the bibliography of the records themselves I have already sufficiently treated.² Let us, however, turn for a moment

¹ Ed. Paul Meyer (1865), vss. 584 ff.

² *Modern Philology*, V, 436 ff., VII, 337 ff.; cf. also the excursus at the end of this study.

to the excellent list of old German glosses for "poet, singer, entertainer" made ten years ago by Schönbach,¹ as the most graphic way in which we can here illustrate the confusion which confronts that historian who, like Faral, would determine just what any one word such as *scop* or *mimus* meant at the first dawn of the Middle Ages.

We discover that Zimmer was doubtless right in his suggestion that *scop* meant not alone the dignified epic singer of antiquity but one who entertained his audience with quip and joke,² we find that *mimus* meant not alone the Roman vaudeville artist but minstrel in the widest sense of the word.³ How, when such is the state of the case, can Faral depose that descendants of the Latin vaudeville-performers were the ancestors of the *jongleurs*? It is true that we *do* know more or less about the monkey-tricks of early *mimi*, as we do about those of the later *jongleurs*. And in a certain way we can trace the tricks of the one back to those of the other,⁴ for in *Flamenca* we find our old favorite turns of Empire days still in vogue:

603 L'us fai lo juec dels banastelz
 L'autre jugava de coutelz;
 L'us vai per sol e l'autre tomba,
 L'autre balet ab sa retomba;
 L'us passet sercle, l'autre sail;
 Neguns a son mestier non fail.

But it is not of the circus-performer or of the variety-actor that we are thinking when we speak of *jongleur* as the child of *mimus*; it is of the creative artist, the poet, the fashioner and preserver of literary themes and types. Faral seems to forget this salient fact, or he would wilfully blind our eyes to it, for he does nothing toward narrowing and limiting his definition either of *mimus* or *jongleur*. On the contrary he deliberately enlarges it.

I object strenuously to this enlargement of the definition of *jongleurs* to mean "tous ceux qui faisaient profession de divertir les hommes,"⁵

¹ *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, CXLII, Part VII, 61 ff. I should have forgotten this reference had Mr. G. L. Hamilton not recalled it to me.

² Zimmer, *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII (1876), 287 f.; Schönbach, *op. cit.*, 64.

³ Schönbach, *op. cit.*, 67.

⁴ Although it is often by no means necessary to do so. In their continual search for concrete sources, students are prone to forget what Crusius calls the homely Aristotelian truth, that the impulse to play and to imitate is among the most elemental stirrings of the human soul, and that this common impulse sometimes quite innocently creates similar types of vaudeville among peoples which have never come into close contact.

⁵ Faral, *op. cit.*, 2.

if it is to be at once used to prove that mediaeval spielmann and jongleur derive straight from Latin mimus. Such enlargement simply clouds the issue. Remember, if you please, that when Faral says "les jongleurs étaient bel et bien des mimes" his readers at once and naturally imagine that Faral is claiming for the best of mediaeval art, for music, song, and story, a Latin origin. For these readers are thinking of jongleurs as did Diez:¹ "tous ceux qui faisaient de la poésie ou de la musique un métier." They are not thinking, nor do they care to think, of the jongleurs as including "la nombreuse catégorie des saltimbanques, des acrobates et des faiseurs de tours."²

I am not seeking the origin of the skill which permitted mediaeval trapeze-performers to swing by their toes or by their teeth, which taught balance on the slack-wire, which sent swords and stones and fire down the living throat, which distorted the human frame into strange shapes, which with a touch of the hand kept a circle of ten gilt balls in the air without one falling to the ground. Neither I, nor any other reader of Faral, cares tuppence at the present juncture whether all the monkey-tricks and the circus-art of the Middle Ages came straight from imperial Rome, or from Sparta, or from Thebes. What we do care for at this moment is to tear the veil from the apparent mystery which enshrouds the birth in early mediaeval Europe of the vernacular and realistic art of that jongleur who sang songs and told stories well worth listening to. Now if we confuse *this* sort of artist with every contemporary parasite and clown, or if we believe *this* artist got all his great and living art from earlier generations of professional jesters and fools who "avaient infiniment élargi le répertoire de leurs exercices primitifs, qu'ils l'avaient varié et compliqué,"³ then let us say simply that figs grow from thistles and that bricks are made from straw. It is an old artifice of the schools, this one of which we find Faral guilty: he enlarges his definition of jongleur, as do Reich and Winterfeld theirs of mimus, until it includes everything they wish it to. They then gravely derive from their swollen concepts whatever they wish and with a wave of the hand strut from the stage leaving behind them a puzzled

¹ *Die Poesie der Troubadours*, 31.

² Faral, 2, n. 1; cf. also his recent book *Mimes français du XIII^e siècle* (1910).

³ Faral, 12.

audience. French has a word for such artifice which other languages than English have copied: *legerdemain*.

We have seen that *mimus* is used by critics of the literature of the Dark Ages to mean: (1) Dramatic Performance; (2) Vaudeville; (3) Actor or Entertainer.¹

What then does Reich mean when he says that "everything dramatic in the world's literature that is not classic or imitated from classic models is *mimus*"?² What does Winterfeld mean when he asserts that "only through the continued existence of the *mimus* can we understand the development of the centuries"?³

In such statements they do not restrict the term "*mimus*"—and it is very important to realize this—to any one type of performance (such as drama, recited poem, or song), nor yet to any one type of performer. They make *mimus* betoken a certain literary attitude, they make it synonymous with *realism*. Reich calls almost "everything dramatic" *mimus*; Winterfeld says that the art of profane narration (*weltliche fabulierkunst*) and real life itself (*das lebendige leben*) are *mimus*. The latter would have us call *mimus* every realistic and living portrayal in prose and poetry during the Dark Ages. I protest.

It is not common-sense to make *mimus* in any age connote *biologia*. It is wrong to surrender bodily all the creative realistic literature of the Dark Ages to the commonplace crowd of second-rate vaudeville artists who may have swept northward from Italy during the migration period.⁴ It is absurd to trace the life-giving roots of this creative literature to the purely conventional art of these people.

For vaudeville art is conventional. In the more than two thousand years that we have known of it, the canons of this art have

¹ Cf. *Modern Philology*, VII, 329-32.

² Cf. *Der Mimus*, I (1903).

³ References to Winterfeld in the pages which follow are to his essay "Der Mimus im Mittelalter," *Herrig's Archiv*, CXIV, 48-75, 293-324, unless another title is cited.

⁴ Crusius remarks with much good sense: "I fancy that the authors and reciters of mimes during the empire did not claim to create works of any artistic far less of any literary merit. They furnished, as do our manufacturers of farces, salable stuff for a Roman season." Their audience was "the nobles who shouted themselves hoarse over the bear-mimes and the dog-shows, over the meaningless and sterile clatter of the circus and the vaudeville; the crowd of philistines, shopkeepers, and barbarians who seized the reins of government." Cf. Crusius, "Ueber das Phantastische im Mimus," *Ilberg's Neue Jahrbücher* (1910), 101.

been but seldom violated, few if any great creations have sprung from it. During all the centuries of which we have record, the mimi have been doing much the same thing in the same way. Their jokes bloom perennial, the business of the old mimi may be seen today on the stage of any variety-theater or in the circus-ring. It is nothing short of wonderful, how little their repertory and tricks have changed from the earliest known times when topical song, suggestive dance, portrayal of types of low life, dialect-recital, boasting, repartee, juggling, sleight of hand, buffoonery, and slap-stick were the vogue.

But if it is wrong to surrender creative realistic literature to the mimi, it is no better, I believe, to accord it bag and baggage to the scop. Kögel, for example, says that with the rise of the Frankish empire and the consequent downfall of the smaller courts the honorable state of the ancient poets had come into disrepute. He says that the impoverished descendants of the old *scoffa* now led a vagrant existence in German territory, had to reckon with the tastes of their new audience, the commoner herd, and were thus compelled to include farcical elements in their repertory. Thus, he explains, the poet became often a merry-andrew (*joculator, scurra*); thus it was that more vulgar narrative was fostered, that a great mass of fableaux and short stories suddenly appears in the second half of the ninth century.¹

I am thankful for Kögel's word "suddenly." For, if the creative realistic writing of the late ninth and early tenth centuries had not appeared "suddenly"; if it had come into being fearfully, painfully, step by step—then I should be almost persuaded that it was due to the gradual elevation of the repertory of the mimus, or the gradual degeneration of the scop, or the gradual awakening from a long sleep on the part of the monk. But there is nothing gradual about it—this mediaeval renaissance.² The most superficial examination of earlier records suffices to teach us that in the ninth century

¹ Cf. *Pauls Grundriss*², II, 62, 129.

² In this term I do not of course include, as does Scherer, that earlier and abortive "renaissance" which Charles the Great inaugurated, when on his return from the Italian campaigns he tried to gather at his court the best of the Latin culture of the world. For a profane literature divorced from theology did not at that time exist to any degree that made itself a factor in future German writing. Cf. Hauréau, *Charlemagne et sa cour* (1854), Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great* (1877), Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought* (1884), Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques* (1905).

realistic narrative literature came into existence at a single bound, just as at a later period the drama did. For this phenomenon nothing that we know of the opportunity confronting either mimus or scop, nothing we know about their ability to answer to a new opportunity in the ninth century, offers a sufficient explanation. If the impulse to new types of realistic narrative is to come, it presumably must come from without.¹ The mode or manner of this new variation in literature we know; but what is the cause of it?

To photograph life in art requires genius; it requires the immediate personal vision. One more thing is necessary before a realistic scene can take lasting form in a conscious literary product: viz., a diction suited to the purpose of the author. Of these two requisites for a living art, genius is of course the greater and the rarer. Shall we deny this visualizing power in the Dark Ages to the monk and the nun, as critics do, and accord it to the mimus or the scop? Shall we believe the vaudeville-artist could lay aside his slap-stick and write the tales of the monk of St. Gall² or tell Roswitha's legend of the founding of Gandersheim?³ Not I.

¹ It means little to me when Hertz in his *Spielmannsbuch* (2 f.) derives the older German minstrels from three groups: scopas, mimi, and vagrant clerks; it means little that Schönbach (*op. cit.*, 62) agrees with him in the main. For neither of these scholars makes clear the time, the reason, or the occasion of such a merging, except to posit it as possible. In other words they dodge, wittingly or not, the main issue. For if three differing art-forms were ever united into a new art-form, then we may be sure some specific impulse was necessary to bring about so desirable a result. To call attention to the opportunity of such a mingling of varied elements, without assigning a definite and valid reason therefor, accomplishes nothing. In every age of which we have record there has been constant opportunity to marry divergent forms of artistic expression and as the legitimate child of such wedlock secure a new literary type. But only rarely, apparently, has this happened, because the proper occasion was lacking.

² Doubtless Notker Balbulus; see Zeumer, *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet* (1886), 97 f.; Zeppelin, *Wer ist der monachus sangallensis?* (1890).

³ As the story is known to few if any of my readers, I give it here in a translation which leans heavily upon the German rendition of Winterfeld:

Old people tell the story, they who know the truth,
How once long years ago by the cloister a forest stood
Buried in mountain-shadows just as we are today.
Deep in the midst of the woods there lay a farm
Where Lord Ludolf's herdsmen were wont to search for pasture;
In the hut of the tenant-farmer they found a night of rest
As they stretched the wearied body on a lowly cot,
When the time it was for guarding their master's herds of swine.
Now here it came to pass that on two separate days
Before the Feast of All Saints —the hour of night was late—
The swains saw many a light flash in the forest dark.
And as they looked at the vision at its meaning they marveled long,
For they beheld the luster all of a glory strange

But it should never be forgotten that prior to the tenth century at least cultured German poets felt themselves impelled to express most of their thoughts in a foreign medium, Latin—a medium which no one of them commanded freely, and for two reasons. First, before a wider dissemination of education than then existed there would be none who could attain the stylistic ease which characterized the writings of twelfth-century men of letters; second, in the ninth and tenth centuries simplicity and correctness were rarely striven for, bombast and a rhetoric of word-inflation were the goal.¹

Now, I find no surer indication that it is not *mimus* or *scop* but monk to whom we owe the re-creation of realistic art in the ninth and tenth centuries than that it is just the monks and their

That shone so bright and steady through the grayness of the night.
 Slow and a-tremble they told it to the tenant of the fee,
 Him they pointed the spot which but now the light had illumined;
 And the wish was in his heart to see if the story were true,
 So he joined himself to their group out under the open sky
 And together they set the watch through all the following night.
 No slumber lent its weight to their unwavering eyelids
 Till they had seen again the lights which glistened there
 On the self-same spot, brighter than time before,
 At the very hour which the former night had known.
 In the morning when the sun rose its first beams
 Saw spread abroad the quickening words of rumor,
 Tidings glad of the omen and of its fortunate sign.
 Nor was the matter one to keep from Ludolf the duke,
 Without delay the tale entered his listening ears.
 And he made bold himself to see on the night of the feast
 If to his anxious waiting there might not return again
 The hoped-for symbol shown in the sky above;
 And under the forest-roof with many he stayed and watched.
 But now when night had veiled the lands in her gray mist,
 All round about in a circle there shone in the valley-glen,
 Where one time the cloister should uprear its proud mass,
 Full many a clear light twinkling in every place,
 Which in the radiant glory of its bright beams
 Broke through the shade of the woods, through the gloom of the night.
 At this from a single throat they sang the praise of the Lord,
 Said with one accord here was the sacred place
 To serve and honor Him who had filled it with His glory.
 And thus with grateful heart for all the mercy of God
 At the will of Ode his wife Duke Ludolf halted not
 From that time forth to fell the forest-trees,
 Uproot the thorns, and clear the valley's dells.
 He changed the wilderness where gnome and goblin dwelled
 To be a place of purity where God's praise loudly echoed.
 Whatever things were needful he gathered on the spot
 And laid the broad foundation of the cloister in that place
 Which the sign had shown him with its radiance clear.

¹ Cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, 10 f.

work which furnished all the bases of the mediaeval renaissance. Notker, Froumund, Ekkehard, the author of *Ruodlieb* and of the *Ecbasis*, Roswitha—it is such spirits, struggling with an inept Latin, who gave direction to the glories of a later and vernacular literature; they were the torchbearers. Popular proverbs and tales, the *volkslieder* sung on the streets, the saws of the humblest minstrel, fables learned in distant lands—it was not the patter of Italian vaudeville-artists which brought them into literature and held them there forever; it was the toilsome, if loving, labor of these same monks.¹

It was a great thing that these ecclesiastics did, uniting diverse elements that had hitherto been separate: finding expression for the humbler and more real elements of vernacular tradition in a Latin diction learned from long occupation with biblical-classical models. For this combination made in the monasteries during the ninth and tenth centuries established a new variation in literary forms which gave life and meaning to European literature.

Till that time there were at least three distinct streams of self-conscious and conventional art which ran parallel one to the other but which, so far as we know, never merged their identities:

1. *Alliterative mytho-epic ballads*, changing little through the centuries except as the people's belief in, and remembrance of, the older myths paled, and as new heroes came to replace the older ones. This type of "popular poetry" it is often believed was, if not created by, quite surely carried on and shaped by Germanic *scopas*.

2. *Vaudeville*: the lighter entertainment of every sort from mere juggling to farce which passed from age to age unscotched and it is often believed was brought into Europe by Roman *mimi*, and long continued there.

3. *Monastic copying of biblical and classical tradition*, which leaned entirely on the materials, emotions, and forms of the past and mani-

¹ At this point it may be objected by my reader that I do not take sufficiently into account the poetic coherence and the artistic beauty of the humble models which these monks occasionally incorporated into work of their own. In answer let me say that I believe any effectiveness which popular German art of the Dark Ages had was not due to the spasmodic effort of unlettered, unalert, and unimaginative men dwelling in some isolated community. No, it was in a crowded center of culture, where stirred throngs gathered, that the throes of composition brought forth an enduring and popular art of profane narration. And for the time we are considering, such centers were presumably found only in the monasteries. Cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, 101 f.

rested practically no power of either observation or invention. This was the work of *monks*. It was at heart not Germanic or Roman; it was curiously unracial.

Now from the work of such monks as these no future can reasonably be expected. First as last such work will consist of the dull multiplication of known facts. So the critic has felt himself justified in dismissing all monks from his study of the living sources of mediaeval literature. The critic then turns to the scopas and the mimi: the former, he knows, continued a dignified line of literature marked by lofty epic idealism;¹ the latter, he knows, maintained an undignified line of expression marked by a vulgar but contagious realism. The critic but adds the two together and gains as his total the repertory and art of European mediaeval minstrelsy. Why not? In the left hand I have one apple, in the right hand one apple; I place the apples together; now how many apples have I?

It is as easy as that. That is in a sense just the truth. There were two things separate, the two things united; *but who united them?* Who was it that took the stereotyped facts and figures of Germanic poetry, the stereotyped themes and tricks of lighter entertainment, and for the first known time in European history combined the two in a way that achieved variations of permanent influence? To this question there can be but one answer; the answer is written large and clear in a hundred records. It was the monks.

Variations of permanent influence in literature can be achieved only by writers with exceptional opportunities. Such opportunities in the ninth and tenth centuries lay in monastic culture and environment; they did not lie—in the nature of things they could not lie at that time—outside them. The moment these monks brought their inventive power, their significant ideas to bear upon their writings in such a way as to adjust them to the demands of contemporary thought and feeling, that moment we have no longer *monastic copying of biblical and classical tradition*, we have permanent mutations in literary expression² which yield:

¹ Although we should by no means believe this the only sort of literature cultivated by the scop; cf. *supra* p. 19.

² Cf. Hoskins, "Biological Analogy in Literary Criticism," *Modern Philology*, VI, 420; Manly, "Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, April, 1907. I believe the main results of these two investigations stand firm despite Logeman's irony; cf. his "Biologie en de Studie van Taal en Letteren" (reprint from *Groot-Nederland*, March, 1910), 27 ff.

1. The novel—*Ruodlieb*.
2. The art-epic—*Waltharius*.
3. Legend quick with dialogue—Roswitha.
4. The short story—*Gesta Karoli* of Notker.
5. The beast-epic—*Ecbasis Captivi*.
6. Fableau and lyric—Cambridge MS.
7. Historical poems—*Ludwigslied*,

and a swelling list of satires and parodies, of hymns and sacred ballads even, which have laid aside their traditional adherence to an older art and breathe the life of their day.¹

Let us consider, by way of illustration, what the sequence and the church hymn did for profane poetry:

Occasionally, even in Carolingian poetry, we are surprised by a minstrel's quip (Uodalricus), by a vernacular debate-poem showing through learned Latin guise (the conflictus sometimes ascribed to Alcuin), by cloistral adaptation of jesting tale and fable,² or best of all by some drinking-round like that of the Abbot of Angers. But it is safe enough to say that no matter how witty the treatment of the theme is in such cases, the poems themselves have practically

¹ It is little edifying to note how Kögel unconsciously agrees with Winterfeld in ascribing to the wandering minstrels (*die Fahrenden*) whatever note of simplicity or realism he discovers in tenth-century poetry. The poet of *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* (Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*, No. x) "knows how to relate his theme simply and graphically . . . and shows contact with the minstrels"; the author of *De Heinricho* (*Denkmäler*, No. xviii) "is a cleric; but he has learned from the art of the minstrels and knows how to express himself concisely"; likewise did the poet of *Kleriker und Nonne*, Kögel thinks, have his theme from a minstrel. This is the old stupid formula: dull, verbose, incoherent=monk; witty, simple, graphic=minstrel. Will someone please tell me why?

This formula has been proven wrong a great many times, never perhaps more strikingly than in the case of *Waltharius*, which I feel has been definitely shown to be, not a Latin rewriting of alliterative heroic songs, but the artistic and largely original work of a monk, Ekkehard I [composed ca. 930], whose source was a mere tale; cf. Wilhelm Meyer, "Der Dichter des *Waltharius*," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XLIII, 113 ff; Strecker, "Probleme in der *Waltharius-Forschung*," *Ibergs Neue Jahrbücher* (1899), 573 ff., 629 ff. The most recent attempt to revive Jacob Grimm's "Visigothic epic of Walter of Spain" is ingenious but unconvincing; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *L'épopée castillane* trad. de Mérimée (1910), 18 ff.

² Ker's statement is succinct (*Dark Ages*, 199): "No literary work in the Dark Ages can be compared for the extent and far-reaching results of its influence with the development of popular Latin verse. The hymns went farther and affected a larger number of people's minds than anything else in literature. They gave the impulse to fresh experiment which was so much needed by scholarly persons; provided new rules and a new ideal of expression for the unscholarly. Those who had no mind to sit down and compose an epithalamium in hexameters or a birthday epistle in elegiacs might still write poetry in Latin—unclassical Latin, indeed, but not dull, not ungentele—a language capable of melody in verse and impressiveness in diction."

none of the lightness, grace, skill in versification, and suggestiveness which modern art demands and attains. We are almost sure to find Carolingian poetry far distant from modern ideas, close on the one hand to classical tradition, on the other to the Bible. Theodulf, poet-laureate to the Palace, sums up the matter neatly when he sings

Te modo Virgilium, te modo Naso loquax:
In quorum dictis quanquam sint frivola multa,
Plurima sub falso tegmine vera latent,

except that to Vergil and Ovid other classical models should be added, and the Bible as trusted source of all poetizing needed no comment by Theodulf.

Nor, apparently, was the matter much improved in the poems of tenth-century authors who neglected the opportunity furnished them by the sequence and the hymn. For such songs as the *O admirabile Veneris idolum*, the *Jam dulcis amica venito*, the *alba*, and the *Ode to a Nightingale* lack each one that modern breath which is soon to move in poetry. The first two are lyrical survivals of the past and—effective as they are—no nearer the present manner than the *Vigils of Venus*; the last two are as unbending and stiff as early ecclesiasticism itself. But the Cambridge MS alone is sufficient evidence of the fact that, because of the framework given profane poets by the sequence and the hymn, because of the application of a new Latin to humble vernacular narratives of various kinds, by the end of the tenth century the history of modern poetry is begun. For this MS contains at least one beautiful lyric, the *Levis exsurgit zephyrus*, which is as “unmediaeval” as any modern poem; several extremely clever fableaux, two of them gaining inimitable parody from their employment of the sequence-form,¹ others using the broad effectiveness of a five-syllabled popular line; and one or more songs which are as if made for tavern-entertainment, like the *Johannes abba parvulus*. Other evidences such as the ballad of the wicked dancers of Kölbigk, the love-message in *Ruodlieb*, and songs and hints of songs I have here no space to mention²—these things inform

¹ The *leich* is a direct descendant of the sequence, dactyls and all, but with rhyme added; cf. Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 334.

² For further study of the material here spoken of, see *Modern Philology*, V, 423 ff.; VI, 3 ff., 137 ff., 340 ff.

us clearly that the monks and the monastic schools had given Europe the four prerequisites for a body of splendid "modern" poetry:

1. The artist with imagination and training.
2. The desire to portray real life in art.
3. Models which the unscholarly could amplify.
4. An audience eager for the author's work.

And yet—and yet Winterfeld contends that only through the continued existence of the *mimus* may we understand the development of the centuries. Why, where is now his *mimus* vanished? Surely, if, when the culture of the ninth century cherished in the monastic schools was lighting the way to the modern art of profane narration, there existed a solitary descendant of the old Italian vaudeville-performer in Germany; then just so surely do we know what this *mimus* was doing. He was mouthing, dancing, squawking, playing on some strange instrument, eating fire, swallowing a sword, engaging in lascivious pantomime with an unclothed *mima*, juggling with gilt balls, playing the stupid, bragging absurdly, taking off his audience, pounding somebody's head with a make-believe club, balancing a table on his chin, or doing some other thing equally as delightful, some thing for which we moderns seem much in his debt—witness our joy in present-day circuses and "continuous performances." But I feel quite sure this *mimus* of the Dark Ages was sublimely unconscious he would ever be called upon to father the mediaeval *jongleur* and *spielmann*.

Nor can we avoid the issue by believing the minstrel of the ninth century to be not the old Italian vaudeville-performer, but a metamorphosis of him. At times I suspect Wilhelm Scherer. When he says that "*der spielmann ist eine metamorphose des römischen mimus*"¹ I want to know when the change took place, why it took place, who established it, how it happened, what was the result. And of this Scherer says not one word.²

¹ *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung im xi. und xii. Jahrhundert*, 11; *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*¹⁰, 60.

² I am reminded by Scherer's oracular phrase of a classroom dialogue overheard by me some years ago:

Professor: The German empire is a schoolmaster's dream.

Student: But I thought it the creation of Bismarck.

Professor: Bismarck was a schoolmaster.

Now I had thought that Roman *mimus* was Roman *mimus*, and am no less surprised to discover him "metamorphosed" by a wave of the hand into German *spielmann* than was another poor student to discover that his Iron Chancellor had become a pedagogue.

The point is the following: In the ninth and tenth centuries such a modification appears in European literature that we have begun to leave the Dark Ages behind and are coming to the threshold of the modern world. This is indeed a metamorphosis.

We can ascribe the change to causes unknown to us and make up a picture to please our idle whim, or we can seek and find the reason for the change in certain definitely known facts. I prefer the latter course.

"Notker und Hrotsvit verdanken ihr bestes dem mimus," says Winterfeld. I should put it differently and say that when these artists depart from an over-ornamented style and the traditional method which their day used for recording facts and themes, then they owed this "best" neither to a mime nor to any model of their own time, but to themselves. It was possible to be one's self in prose and poetry before the year 1000, though it must be admitted the deed seems to have been hard of accomplishment. The greatest service Ker has done the Latin authors of the Dark Ages is the emphasis of this important fact. Here and there in the hisperic weaving of early Latin literature Ker has found threads of a color so bright, so near to the hues of everyday life, that there seems to be nothing "dark" or "mediaeval" about them. Before Notker ever wrote his *Gesta Karoli*, Gregory of Tours had told of things "that might go straight into a ballad," Gregory the Great had provided great treasure of vivid legend in his *Dialogues*, Ermoldus had so pictured a siege of Barcelona that it was instinct with dramatic truth.

When we read Notker we know what we shall find—a struggling poet, narrow in view, awkward in performance, incoherent in statement. He lacks a hundred things that modern art is heir to. He does not care to, or he cannot, throw off the shackles of his day. But therefore to imagine that in some happy moment of self-forgetfulness he could not depart from his conventional pose and hold us by the simple force of realistic portrayal—unless he purloined his portrayal from a mime—that is to imagine the ninth century as wide and empty as the Hell of Wettin; that is to make of the great monastery of St. Gall a leaden ark.¹

¹I wonder would Winterfeld have ascribed to a mime the verses of a monk writing in his cell (St. Gall MS, ninth century): "The woodland meadow incloses me, the song of

I. MIMUS AND SHORT NARRATIVE

Fable, fairy-tale, fableau, storiette

From the ninth century on there existed in Germany a great many fables and stories and droll tales which were widely disseminated and very popular. These short narratives are of two sorts: (1) those which are evidently German in origin and workmanship, so far as we may judge by their scenes and motives; (2) those which are perhaps of oriental lineage because they seem to derive from or be kin to themes in the older literature of the South and East.¹

For the first sort no explanation is needed—they are quite simply the work of monks and clerks and minstrels who invented them or who gave them literary form. But for the second sort a problem is felt to exist. Oriental tales in Europe two centuries before the first crusade are felt to be an anachronism. Led astray, therefore, by the romantic suspicion that the ninth century was unlettered, untraveled, and uncreative—tormented by their inability to explain the presence of oriental tales and fables in Germany long before any well-known route of immigration is open—critics have succumbed. They have either assumed a more constant and direct line of transmission between East and West than other evidences seemed to warrant—such as one due to the Byzantine alliances of the Ottos—or they have clutched at the Italian mimus to stop the gap between, say, the Carolingian renaissance and the period of chivalry.

The Italian entertainer may be directly and indirectly responsible for a few of the tales and legends that were current in ninth-century Germany. We know that the great pageants (*circenses*) continued in Italy until late in the migration period at least, and Glock is right in assuming that "the shout which a famished multitude in

the blackbirds echoes in my ears as I sit at my parchment . . . from the tree-summits the cuckoo in his gray cowl calls to me with clear voice. Oh, in truth, 'tis goodly writing here under the forest's roof!" (Kuno Meyer, *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, xi, 1 [1909] p. 81.)

Here we find a tonsured monk pausing a moment in his appointed task of multiplying sacred texts—dull business!—to speak simply of the world beneath his grated window. Formal diction based upon classical tradition and biblical imagery is left aside, and for a few human breaths *a man is writing as he feels*. No descendant of an Italian vaudeville-performer is in his mind or by him as he writes—we may be sure of this. And not every ninth-century monk was a Johannes Talpa of Beargarden (for the writings of which worthy cf. MS Bibl. nat., fonds ping. K. L.⁸, 12390 quater—or if this cannot be found, Anatole France, *L'île des pingouins*, Book III, chap. iv).

¹ Cf. Kögel *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.* I, ii, 192 ff. and the quotation there made from Wilamowitz' introduction to his *Hippolytos*.

ancient Rome joined to the one for bread then sounded forth not less loud from the lips of immigrant Germans." But the more interested the German in the *mimus*, the sooner would he learn his trick from him. Even if the German had no realistic poetry before he went to Rome, it would not be long before the rote of it was learned and transplanted deep into the heart of Germany. Thus, even if the original impulse in any instance came from without, it would be, I think, as early as the fifth or sixth century¹ that German poets and their audiences had long forgotten how certain very popular themes came from a foreign source. History teaches us constantly how short a span it takes for the naturalization of extraneous material.

There is, however, no positive knowledge in our possession that such oriental cognates as we find in the short narratives in Germany from the ninth century on were ever appropriated by Italian mimes. These narratives—fables, fairy-tales, fableaux, storiettes, and legends—are, generally speaking, not the type of thing which the mimes would use to amuse barbarian crowds. It must never be forgotten that the *mimus* is made by Reich, Winterfeld, and Heyne the agent of transmission solely to suit their convenience, and not because of any evidence which they can discover. The *mimus* has been "clutched at" as is a straw by one drowning.

I can explain to my thorough satisfaction the presence of any shorter narrative in ninth-century Germany with never a thought of *mimus*. Two great lines of direct connection between East and West at this period are known: books and monasteries.

Anthologies, MSS of excerpts and exempla, collections of apologies and facetiae and tales, the profaner parts of sacred legends and saints' lives, stirring homilies and dramatic sermons, books like the *Vitae patrum*²—here we have the broad and unfailing river of tradition which flowed from the past into the Dark Ages. The monks knew of these things, but there the matter might have rested, had it not been for the great institutions in which they dwelt.

¹ The story of the withered arm of King Miro's *mimus* may be a case in point. The occurrence (A.D. 589?) is told not by the *mimus* but of him and evidently by one who dislikes him, perhaps a Frankish minstrel; cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, 402.

² Many another poem may have found its theme herein as did the satire on Little John the Monk; cf. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XIV, 469; Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, 21; Allen, *Modern Philology*, V, 468.

Reichenau, Fulda, Tegernsee, St. Gall, Gandersheim, and Weissenburg—these are but the greatest of the many places in which monk lived with lay-brother, clerk, and student. Now the monastery was not only the house of a religious order, not only a church. It was a school, a university, an inn, a house of refuge, a place of pilgrimage, a hospital, a conservatory of music, a library, a center of culture, and a social focus. So men of every sort came to pass through its walls, to remain a while within them. It housed sovereign and Jew, peddler and soldier, poet and minstrel, artisan and artist, the great man 'on embassy of state, the humble monk back from a far journey.

In the stir and bustle of this Temple of the Muses, in the sparks which inevitably come from the friction of awakened minds,¹ in imaginations quickened to the facts of life by such companionship with books of the past and men of the present—here should I seek the reason for what would seem to have been a new-fashioned literary realism, and not in the repertory of isolated bands of Italian vaudeville-artists. We need wait for such realism only until the poet comes. And such a one was Notker Balbulus.

Notker was the genius of St. Gall, and he lived in the ninth century. These two facts, it seems to me, explain the whole body of his literary effort. Being the genius of St. Gall, he outstripped all men of his day in writing sequences, he told in a droll way the tales of Eishere, of the Goblin and the Farrier, of the Bishop and the Jew, he wrote fables like the Three Brothers and the Goat, the Flea and the Podagra. All this shows that he saw life at times simply, allowed his Swabian humor to enter an occasional story and gild it, had an eye for the value of terse and dramatic treatment of popular themes, and was possessed of much sense and feeling.

¹ The story of the greatness of St. Gall is told in Ekkehard IV's *Casus S. Galli*; see Schubinger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens* (1858); Winterfeld, *Ilbergs Neue Jahrbücher*, V, 350 ff.; and Gautier, *La poésie liturgique*. It goes without saying that the aesthetic culture which characterized some of the courts of the more important episcopal prelates in the tenth century was the direct fruit of monastic culture. For the new expressions in art and literature which an awakened social activity found in the valley of the Loire toward the end of the tenth century, cf. Warren's suggestive sketch of society under Robert the Pious (987-1031) and the many sources of information which he cites (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. of America*, XVII, [1909], "Proceedings," xlviii ff.). It is not without a feeling of amazement that we learn of the existence at this time in French territory of five hundred abbeys and *ecclesiae collegiatae*, many of which were centers of the new light; cf. Lot, *Etudes sur le règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du Xe siècle* (1903), 427-42.

But living as he did in the ninth century, Notker was often prone to follow traditional methods in his writing—at such a moment the worst traits of the pedant and the cloister-schoolmaster shone forth from him; he was crude, unbending, artificial. He was unwittingly—poor monk!—paying toll to his age. So did Chaucer in stupid Melibeus.

Notker the ninth-century monk Winterfeld believes requires no explanation. Notker the genius of St. Gall—except for the sequences—Winterfeld calls *mimus*. He says:

The fable has ever been cousin-german to the *mimus*.¹ The main point, however, is that all the preachers and collectors of exempla are pupils of the *mimus*,² for they surely recognized the effective element in the *mimus*³ and because they could not do away with his influence⁴ they at least made use of it. It is a sign of Notker's greatness that he was the first artistic poet of the Middle Ages to weld together with instinctive sureness the *mimus* and artistic poetry.⁵ But while Notker only borrows for his purpose the mimic novelette⁶ Roswitha does the same thing with the drama.⁷ Then came the time when the *mimus*⁸ repaid Notker for making him again a literary possibility. The *mimus*⁹ with his sure feeling for what was enduring in artistic poetry took possession of the sequence-form which artistic poetry had created.

It is possible that in my footnotes to this quotation of Winterfeld's I have not entirely got at his meaning—but I have at least shown how preposterous a list of things he attaches to the one concept *mimus* in a few sentences. I should rewrite his quotation as follows:

The fable has ever been a popular form of expression among illiterate peoples. Early mediaeval preachers found most effective to illustrate their points and hold the attention of their audience these fables and short popular tales, so they made use of them. Notker is the first real

¹ Winterfeld here must mean by *mimus* "realistic poetry," unless he thinks fable and recited *mimus* related.

² *Mimus* here evidently = an Italian teller of stories.

³ *Mimus* here = the Italian's repertory.

⁴ The Italian teller of stories again.

⁵ *Mimus* here = realism, realistic art, real life itself, as an antithesis to artistic writing.

⁶ *Mimische novelle* here = the novelette whose theme Reich derives from mimic drama, like the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius.

⁷ Roswitha does not. In one place she is said to have her theme from a heathen martyr *mimus*, in another place from the *Vitae patrum*.

⁸ This time a minstrel who sang.

⁹ A minstrel.

poet we know of who gave such popular tales artistic form. Roswitha did the same sort of thing in a legend or two, but never in her dramas. Once Notker had shown how the sequence (text and music) added unsuspected richness to the church-service, other poets adopted the same form when writing of profane matters.

In all of Notker as we know him, in anything that has ever been ascribed to him, we find no reference to, no reminiscence of, Italian vaudeville or entertainers. Once in a while—for all too short a moment—Swabian Notker succeeds in being simple, warm, true, or funny. That is all.

II. MIMUS AND LONG NARRATIVE

Ruodlieb

Ruodlieb is often called the first novel in European literature, and novel in a certain sense it is, for it gives us a picture of the social life of its time.¹ But so far as its structure is concerned it is no novel, but a collection of novelistic episodes loosely strung

¹ An ancient creed to which we unthinkingly subscribe is that courtly and artistic expression sprang from the life of a time later than that of this novel, from a new order of things which appeared in twelfth-century Europe. Cf. for instance Langlois, *Origines et source du Roman de la rose*, p. 2: "This courtly literature should be born in the twelfth century. At this epoch woman began to take rank in the society of northern France. She emerges from the isolation to which she has long been abandoned; she finds an environment in which she can exercise the sway of her charm, one which her finer and more delicate spirit inspires with new sentiments. A courtly intercourse is established between persons of the opposite sex."

I have no quarrel with Langlois's words, for it is true that a revolution in European poetry did follow the change in the social life of the people in the twelfth century. And yet what is there in the social life of the eleventh century, as we generally understand it, which would prepare us for the courtly element in *Ruodlieb*? Scherer says truly: "Loud laughter is already proscribed; a moderate merriment and gentle smiles are demanded of women by etiquette. Good breeding is denoted in the very manner of their bearing. The majesty of woman is felt at least aesthetically and expressed in a simile which often recurs in later German poetry: a woman in the flower of her youth is like the moon; a girl approaching is like the rising of the shining moon."

"And humane sentiment, the source of which lies always in a respect for women, makes itself felt repeatedly throughout the poem; the cruelty of the tenth century is gone. The judge shows himself merciful to the fallen but repentant woman. The victor in battle spares the conquered foe. Victory alone is honor enough; be a lion in the fight but a lamb in revenge; small honor attaches to him who avenges a suffered wrong; revenge in its truest sense is to subdue one's wrath. Men begin to grow modest and to use their power scrupulously; the king of Africa accepts but little of the gift which the conquered enemy offers him; our hero wins unwillingly at chess. Hospitality and benevolence are virtues highly to be praised. Widows and orphans receive the fullest tribute of sympathy, and it is a knightly duty to protect them. Tender affection for one's family, an intimate relationship between parents and children, these are the true signs of good people."

What truer testimony do we wish, to know that the conditions of the eleventh century are scarcely as we have dreamed them to be?

together on the name and not the personality of its hero—it is a mediaeval *Wilhelm Meister*.

With the courtly element in *Ruodlieb* I shall not deal. But I desire to emphasize it at the beginning, to show how much of the novel is based upon the real observation of its author, and therefore owes nothing to Winterfeld's omnipresent "mimus."

The problem of the popular element in *Ruodlieb*—of that part of it wherein the most incongruous novelistic materials are gathered but not welded together: fableau, storiette, legend—is no different from the problem involved in the preceding section, I. We find a monk like Notker or Ekkehard I at work incorporating in the best artistic form he could the humbler literature which the books and the oral tradition of his time gave him. The materials of the novel which Winterfeld would have revert to mimus are the following:

1. Three merchants murdered in a notorious inn.
2. The dog who unerringly recognizes a thief.
3. The trained bears.
4. The hero's skill with the harp.
5. The exchange of identity between young lovers.
6. The dance of this young couple.
7. The adultery of Red Pate and a young wife.

With 5 and 6 I need not pause, for Winterfeld's contention regarding them is too weak to require refutation.¹ No. 7 he derives straight from an adultery-mimus as played in Rome. The scene in *Ruodlieb* where Red Pate blusters and threatens to break in the door does not come, we are told, from either Plautus or Terence (cf. the scenes of Thraso in the *Eunuch*), "for in these sources, as in the Greek comedies from which they borrowed, the inviolability of the married woman is respected." But in the mimic drama it is just the married woman to whom the spruce seducer (*cultus adulter*) makes his advances. If the wife will but grant Red Pate her favors, he promises

¹ No. 5 Winterfeld derives from mimus only because it has a remote analogy with a passage in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan und Isolde*, whose French sources are somewhat indebted to fableaux and Achilles Tatius, and with an episode in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (which Reich calls "an old mimus"). No. 6 (*ille velut falcho se gyrat, et haec ut hirundo*) Winterfeld believes to be a "mimic animal-dance" like those cited by Reich, Vol. I, 476 ff. Even if Ferdinand Wolf were right—and he is not—in presuming that in the tenth century beast-fables were given "mimic portrayal" in the cloisters (*Ueber die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche*, 238 f.), I can see no connection between the dance of our young couple and those of Roman *paegnon*.

her a fine, brisk lover: "I know the young sprig for you—one just tall enough, with yellow locks, slim and graceful, with red cheeks and bright eyes." This, we are told, is the typical walking juvenile of mimic story. The Red Pate, it seems, "is thus playing the added rôle of go-between (*cata carissa*, procuress) so common in dramatic and recited mimus. The shamelessness of the amorous dalliance indulged in also smacks of mimic repertory, so does the knot-hole (in mimic performances a broken wall) through which the old husband spies upon the matter."

I confess that these so-called resemblances between No. 7 and the Roman mimus tend to discourage me with Winterfeld. A knot-hole in *Ruodlieb* is no more a broken wall from Rome than is the crack in the partition through which Roswitha's maidens view Dulcitus. We cannot credit the "mimic drama" with all the eaves-dropping devices of modern drama and story: holes, cracks, hedges, practicable rocks, trees. And as to *cultus adulter*, *cata carissa*, the walking juvenile, and amorous dalliance—there is nothing discoverably "mimic" here. What the author of *Ruodlieb* had before him as source—if any source was there—is nothing more than one of the thousand *dorfgeschichten* of his day:

A dishonest soldier of fortune—the red hair is a symbol to the mediaeval mind—came storming and blustering up to the house where he had heard a young wife dwelt with an old husband. This poor rustic beauty, sullen over her mismated condition, gladly lent herself to the deception that the braggart was near kin to her, and when promised a fine young lover readily granted her person to the intruder. Red Pate carries matters shamelessly and finally murders the protesting husband. He and his paramour are brought to the scaffold, where the broken woman confesses all, is released on the intercession of her stepsons, and goes home to lead a life of expiation for her crime.

Why speak of Thraso and archmimus? The red-pate blusters and pretends to cousinship, that he may put his affair through with a high hand. Why speak of the inviolate marriage-bed of Greek comedy? The wife in *Ruodlieb* is quite in rôle with all the *mal mariées* of popular tradition in mediaeval Europe. Why assign the best portrayal of low life in Germany before Meier Helmbrecht to a "mimic" original? For no honest reason that I can discover.

I regret the length of my occupation with this single theme, but

as it is I have barely escaped the temptation to show how favorite a theme the seduction-remorse story was in mediaeval comedy and fableau which by no manner of reasoning can be derived from Roman *mimus*. As for Winterfeld's contention regarding the four other themes, it does not hold water. The hero who is skilful with the harp is in many a *spielmannsepos*—Rother, for instance. The trained bears and the intelligent dog are commonplaces in the eleventh century, as in every other before or since. They smack of the wandering minstrels, it is true, but there is nothing in their description which suggests that the descendants of Roman *mimi* were abroad in Germany after the first millennium of the Christian era. The three merchants murdered in an inn is a story which appears in many places, as Seiler has industriously shown. Now this is all as we should expect; it accords with what we know from many a source outside of *Ruodlieb*: viz., that humble and popular forms of entertainment and story existed in Europe during the last of the Dark Ages at least, for they were at that time set forth in conscious and artistic poetry and prose. But it does not mean that all the types of Roman *mimus* and performers of *mimus* endured across the migration period and gave the impulse for every sort of modern realism.

I do not know from where the thousand themes came which enriched the literature of the Middle Ages, nor need I know. I readily grant that some of them were ever on the way northward from Rome. The trained bears, I confess, may have had remote ancestors in the *circenses* in Rome, so may their trainer. But this is not the question at issue. The question is, was there a continuous tradition in Germany from fourth century to eleventh¹ of Roman

¹ Winterfeld makes much of the fact that a passage from Sextus Amarcus (chap. i, 403-43) tells how the people from villages in the neighborhood and from the country-roads stream in to hear a *mimus* sing to the accompaniment of a zither several Latin songs, one of which deals with the subtle theory of Pythagoras. He urges that this is sufficient evidence that the whole interest of the villagers lay in the music. True enough—although he might have added that yokels find interest in anything out of the usual run if it costs them nothing—and in this case the fine gentleman dining at the inn paid for the *mimus*. Nothing in Amarcus tells us that the bystanders stayed long to listen. They may have crowded up expectant of magic or an obscene tale in German, and dwindled away before their disappointment.

Winterfeld would account for the propagation of Latin songs in unbroken continuity from early migration times in Europe until the middle of the eleventh century by saying that their musical settings won a constant welcome for them even in ages and at places where people could not understand the texts. This might, I suppose, account

mimic types and artists, but for whom mediaeval living poetry and prose would not have been born. And I say at this point, that so far as we may judge by the records already studied: no.

III. MIMUS AND ROSWITHA

Legend and Drama

As Winterfeld's edition of Roswitha's works¹ is the result of eleven years of labor, and as he allows no possible analogy to the mimus to escape him,² I shall content myself with studying the matter of her indebtedness to Italian vaudeville and performer along the lines which he has blazed.

The first legend in which Roswitha shows that she possesses humor, according to Winterfeld, is her *Gongolf*. It contains an episode which pictures a "three-haired" simpleton licking up the sand in his search for the lost spring:

- 185 Cumque lacum peteret fundumque siti reprobare,³
 Qui quondam validis luxuriavit aquis,
 Usque solum stratus, vacua spe non bene lusus,
 Coepit arenosa lingere nempe loca,
 190 Temptans, exiguam posset si lambere guttam;
 Sed nec praesiccam tinxerat hinc ligulam.

Now it is true that in *paegnion* the mimus was often bald, and equally true that our simpleton resembles the mimus in this one respect almost to a hair, but I should not care to base Roswitha's dependence upon Roman vaudeville on so scant a foundation. Winterfeld says that Roswitha's fool is the real type of mimic *stupidus*, and so he is, but only as a million other fools have been. There is no trait or act of this fellow which would identify him as a for the perpetuation of a very few musical settings—though it is hard to believe even they could be carried across so many centuries of distress and change—but it could not account for such texts as those of the Cambridge MS, for instance, two of which this very minstrel of Amarcus sings.

No, Amarcus' *jocatur* is not the eleventh-century descendant of an Italian mimus, unless he is that *rara avis*, a white blackbird. He is a *spielmann* with a varied store of goods, like Der Marner, who had Latin songs of his own to sing for the asking; cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, 400.

¹ *Hrotsvithae opera* (1902).

² "Und froh ist wenn er Regenwürmer findet," like the man of whom Faust speaks. It is such scholastic seriousness which gives much point to Wackernagel's "Die Hündchen von Bretzwil und von Bretten," *Kleinere Schriften*, I (1872), 423 ff. and to a French abbé's derivation of Napoleon from Apollo (Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*).

³ Strecker emends 185 to *sitire* (i.e., *arere*) *probat*.

particular type of simpleton and make him definite blood-kin of the mimic fool.

Winterfeld goes on to say that this tale of the lost spring lives in Hessian territory today,¹ but "hardly without the co-operation of the mimes." I object to this phrase. It is decorative bye-work and should be expunged from the record. I can make the same statement with equal right of the Grimm legends which rest on an old basis, and my statement would mean as much as Winterfeld's—which is nothing at all. I can thread my leisurely way through Rabelais, say, and wherever I find a fool of the numskull order, one whose typically thick pate the great Frenchman so loved to belabor, I can say: "er ist der echte typus des mimischen stupidus," but that would not be proving any necessary connection between Rabelais's clown and Roman *paegnion*.

Roswitha took the theme for her *Basilii*-legend from the *Vitae patrum*, a book which contained a vast deal of narrative material which the Dark ages found entertaining, a book which long furnished, says Winterfeld, "mimes and story-tellers with subjects." A little farther on Winterfeld again uses the word *mimus* to characterize the author of a minstrel-leich (late tenth or early eleventh century) whose theme somewhat resembles that of Roswitha's legend, and which was therefore also presumably borrowed from the *Vitae*.

There is no argument here. The *Vitae patrum* had a great grist of good story-plots in it—minstrels borrowed them, so apparently once did Roswitha. One minstrel-leich is somewhat similar in tone to one of Roswitha's legends. Ergo, Roswitha's source is *mimus*. It does not seem possible that this is all the meat of Winterfeld's argument, but it is. I shall not even ask my reader what he thinks of such work.² So much for her legends in narrative form.

¹ Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, No. 208; Lyncker, *Deutsche Sagen und Sitten in hessischen Gauen gesammelt*, No. 121.

² At this point Winterfeld inserts a discussion of the similarity between the legend of Venantius Fortunatus dealing with Bishop Germanus (died 576) and a novelette of Apuleius. There is no reason why we should doubt Venantius' obligation in this matter, but why should a sixth-century Italian poet not have known his Apuleius? Surely this does not speak for a Roman *mimus*. "But," says Reich, "Apuleius got much of his material from *mimi*" (*Der Mimus*, I, 35; Reich's second volume, he announces, will deal with the indebtedness to *mimus* of satire, novel, story, and epistle). Even then, it was still from a literary source that Venantius got his theme and not from direct contact in the Merovingian realm with a *mimus*. But suppose Venantius did

Roswitha's so-called dramas are of course nothing but *legends in crude dialogue-form*. Terence, to whom she refers in a famous passage, meant only one thing to her: dramatic dialogue. To realize how little she understood Roman comedy, how far she missed its meaning and its art, one has but to read Roswitha's legends in dialogue-form. In what follows I shall refer to these productions as "dramas" to prevent misconception of my argument, but dramas they are not, nor dramatic sketches, and it is not the nature of their subjects which prevented their being acted by nuns, or, as one genial critic has suggested, by the mimi—mimi in the Harz Mountains!—but the nature of their substance. If *Sapientia* was ever staged, then were *Rollo and His Uncle* and *Sanford and Merton*. If my reader consider it a quibble to insist Roswitha's dialogues were not dramas, let me inform him that Winterfeld twice speaks of Roswitha and Shakespeare as one speaks of two members of the same family,¹ and once compares her with Goethe.

get the theme in this latter way, I should scarcely argue that what was the case with the last great writer of Silver Latinity in the sixth century was in any sense the case with a Gandersheim nun in the tenth.

¹ Scherer says: "She had the eye for stage-effects, for telling theatrical themes. Many a species of later drama finds in her its prototype. *Gallicanus*, for example, is a historical tragedy, *Dulcinius* verges upon farce, *Abraham* would seem to pave the way for bourgeois drama, *Callimachus* gives us a love-tragedy with the oddest similarity to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*." Such statements are most misleading, as we discover when we find for instance that the final scene in *Callimachus*, where the protagonist is only withheld from an unnatural crime upon the dead body of Drusiana by divine interposition, "reminds one of the grave-scene in Shakespeare's play"; when we discover what is the sequence of events in *Sapientia*, the doublet of *Dulcinius*. I choose this piece, because it illustrates to the best advantage the truth that Roswitha's so-called plays are only legends in dialogue. "Her dialogue is lively," says Scherer, "her speeches are never too long, she often knows how to build her scenes cleverly." When the emperor Hadrian asks the mother how old her children are, she propounds him a riddle in arithmetic which consumes at least ten minutes and is more difficult than its modern derivative: "How old is Ann?" It develops that Fides is 12, Spes 10, and Caritas 8. Then the "action" proceeds. Fides, who will not renounce her faith, is lashed till her flesh hangs in strips, but it doesn't matter; her breasts are cut off, but the blood doesn't flow; she is put into a kettle of flaming pitch, but somehow it doesn't hurt. Then the emperor grows weary and hews off her head. Likewise Spes, who will not renounce her hope. Likewise Caritas, who insists on preserving her charity at all hazards. Is this drama? Even if we relegate to "action off stage" the heating of the kettle which consumes three days and three nights and the overflowing of the kettle which kills five thousand people? No, it is legend such as we find persevering with an obstinacy worthy of a better cause until the fifteenth century at least. An early exemplar is the tale of the martyrdom of St. George (Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*, No. xvii; Zarneke, *Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft* [1874], 1 ff.; Scherer, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XIX, 104 ff.; Seemüller, "Studie zu den Ursprüngen der altdeutschen Historiographie," *Festgabe für Heinzel* [1898], 311 ff.) which, in the few fragments preserved to us, puts St. George through the following sample tests: He is bound, broken on the wheel, torn into ten pieces, but he goes

Callimachus Winterfeld dismisses with the phrase: "hier ist für den mimus nichts zu holen," but he dwells the longer with *Dulcitius*. In an earlier essay¹ I suggested that the pots-and-pans scene from this drama reminds the reader of a fableau (*schwank*), ignorant at the moment that Winterfeld discovered in it a remarkable analogy to the episode in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* where the queen of the elves, struck with blindness, like that of Dulcitius when he would visit the captive maidens, caresses the donkey-headed weaver. I still prefer my suggestion of a fableau as presumable source for Roswitha, and do not connect the scene with Titania on the one hand, or on the other with Apuleius' Golden Ass and so with the Roman mimic drama, as does Winterfeld, simply because Dulcitius is divinely overcome.

But not alone in this burlesque scene does Winterfeld seek an analogy for *Dulcitius* in the mimus. This and another martyr-legend in dialogue-form Winterfeld believes may revert to pagan martyr-mimes such as those mentioned by Reich² in connection with Genesius. I quote Winterfeld's statement:

Such a mimus, I think, Roswitha may well have known. If not this Genesius-mimus, then another one. Should she, however, have written her martyr-drama without such a prototype, then her dramatic genius appears only the greater. If no outward, direct connection with the martyr-mimus exists, then Roswitha has of herself created what before her and after her the mimus created. The material is, of course, not so constituted that we can decide from a single instance.

This statement is so disingenuous, so hides the points at issue, that it is difficult to believe an attempt has not been wilfully made to mislead us. There is no similarity whatever in theme, purpose, treatment, or appeal between Roswitha's dialogue-legends and the Genesius-mimus, or any other "christologic" mimus which Reich's unfettered imagination can shape from nebulae.

Roswitha was no "dramatic genius." If she had had even the on preaching. He is pulverized, cremated, his ashes are thrown into a well, great boulders heaped upon it, but he goes on preaching. This legend of St. George, although it does remind us of the poem "And the barber went on shaving," I do not regard as a parody by a spielmann on a religious theme; I think it is a "dramatic legend"—if its author had read Terence as Roswitha did, he might have "dramatized" it; which, being translated, means only set it to dialogue.

¹ Cf. *Modern Philology*, III, 431.

² *Der Mimus*, I, 87 f., 566.

glimmerings of that creative ability with which Winterfeld and other critics invest her, she would have understood Terence and given us some sort of play. She not only could not write a drama, she did not think of doing so. She wanted to give vivacity and life to the old style of legend, and she succeeded a little. What subject would be nearer her heart than the story of how God in his omnipotence overcame all the wiles of the devil and led trusting and tender maidens straight to him, without spot and without blemish?

The Genesius-mimus is exactly the kind of thing we might expect: ethnologia: character portrayal. An archmimus in the very act of blaspheming against the Christian life and believers is convicted of God and becomes stout in his new faith.

If we could trace the slightest resemblance of theme or diction between Roswitha's work and the Genesius-mimus, as critics think they can between the latter and a fifteenth-century Genesius-mystery play,¹ then the question would assume a different aspect. But we cannot.

The material for her *Abraham* Roswitha derives in part from the *Vitae patrum*. What we have said above regarding such borrowing need not be repeated.² But it seems that in connection with just such an elopement as that of Roswitha's Maria, Jerome cites a living instance in his letters to Eustochius and Sabellianus. He writes: "repertum est facinus, quod nec mimus fingere, nec scurra ludere, nec atellanus possit effari"—such impudence surpasses the fictions of the mimes. Such themes of elopement and remorse were naturally warm favorites with the mimi. It is interesting to note our nun calmly choosing from the whole repertory of legends at her disposal a story of this realistic kind. But these facts bespeak no indebtedness on Roswitha's part to Roman mimus. Nor does her obligation in *Paphnutius*, the other conversion-legend and doublet of *Abraham*, to the *Vitae patrum* establish any connection with mimus.³

¹ Edd. Mostert-Stengel; cf. von der Lage, *Studien zur Genesiuslegende* (1898 f.).

² Cf. *supra*, p. 40.

³ Gottfried Keller uses the same legend in his "Legende von dem schlimmhellen Vitalis," remarking that it seemed as though in this theme "not only the ecclesiastical story-teller's art is manifest, but also traces of an earlier, more profane manner of narration." Winterfeld agrees that there is a good deal of worldly narrative-art in this legend, "or as we should say nowadays, a good bit of mimus, whether we were thinking at the time of dramatic mimus, or recited mimus, the story." For the moment mimus is meaning to Winterfeld *weltliche fabulierkunst, novelle*.

Winterfeld now pauses to compare Roswitha with Goethe, who in his *Götz von Berlichingen* "instinctively started as she did with mimus." The chameleon-word mimus we find in this place, however, does not mean a legend from the *Vitae patrum*, nor yet a novelette from Apuleius, but the puppet-theater. Since there is no claim for the marionette-play made by Winterfeld in connection with Roswitha's dramas, we need happily not concern ourselves further with it at this moment.

But Winterfeld has in mind yet another analogy between Roswitha and mimus—by whom he means this time the Roman teller of a story. Roswitha prefixes to certain of her works *periochae* (*pronuntiationes fabulae*), i.e., tables of contents of the ensuing drama or legend. Now the Roman mimus, like the later minstrels, found it convenient, in a time when there were no printed handbills, to instruct his audience in advance of the nature and theme of his story. It is a thing easily granted, that the producer in advertising his wares would gain effectiveness by sketching them beforehand, but so common a device as this has proved in all ages of simpler and directer art means nothing for Roswitha's knowledge of Roman mimus.

It is not far-fetched when from Roswitha's title to *Gallicanus* Winterfeld constructs the presumable way in which a mimus might act as "barker" (*marktschreier*) for it: "we are going to portray the marvelous history of Duke Gallicanus; Emperor Constantine promised him his daughter in marriage, etc." So might a minstrel have spoken in the Harz Mountains in the tenth century, true enough; so spoke the secondary mimus in Rome, waving his arms wildly to attract the attention of a careless crowd; so in our summer-evening calls through a megaphone the barker or capper for a tawdry show. But is this mimus or is it human nature? Both, Winterfeld would answer, for mimus means *das lebendige leben*.

His citation in this connection of the opening lines of the rhythm on Antichrist:

Quicumque cupitis audire ex meo ore carmina,
De summo deo nunc audite gloriosa famina
Et de adventu antichristi in extremo tempore

is likewise without point, unless one may include within the pale

of mimus scores of the most incongruous *periochae* from many different centuries and lands. Here is one such:

Listen, my children, and you shall hear
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;
Hardly a man is now alive
Who remembers that famous day and year.

This sort of *pronuntiatio fabulae* could of course be multiplied indefinitely, and yet who would trace its source to mimus? Winterfeld would have done so, I believe, in all seriousness, for it is like the tables of contents in Roman mimic repertory. I should prefer not to, nor would I trace the short pantomime in *Hamlet*, which Ophelia imagines "shows the content of the piece."¹

And finally, in his study of Roswitha, Winterfeld asserts that she had chiefly portrayal in view, and that without much scenic apparatus "like her prototype the mimus." Of course she had, though her character-portrayal is generally weak enough, and her dramas were not acted. Quite as much of course the mimus likewise relied almost wholly upon character-delineation, and his productions were not acted.² But equally in this connection every reading drama—Tennyson, Browning—must be modeled upon the Roman mimus, if the mere absence of much scenic apparatus and action be the deciding hall-mark. Ah me!

IV. MIMUS AND DIALOGUE POEMS

There are eight dialogue-poems which with more or less violence it is customary to group together under the name of eclogues.³ I doubt the wisdom of such a title, for their sources, their subject-matter, and their appeal are so diverse that we cannot honestly feel them to belong to a single literary *genre* affected by learned Carolingian poets, even though they are chiefly written in leonine hexameters,⁴ a meter at this time popular with writers of the diocese of Rheims. These eight poems are:

¹ Winterfeld, *op. cit.*, 319.

² Cf. *Modern Philology*, VII, 330 ff.

³ Cf. Allen, *Modern Philology*, V, 440 ff.

⁴ Cf. Wilhelm Meyer, *Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, I, 193 f.; Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen*, 39 f.; *Poetae aevi Karolini*, II, 711; Hamilton, *Modern Philology*, VII, 171.

1. Imitations of the manner of Vergil's eclogues: the poem of Naso (Bishop Modoin of Autun, *ca.* 805)¹ and the *ecloga Theoduli* (Gottschalk of Orbais, *ca.* 865).² The first of these pictures two shepherds who alternate in singing the praises of Charles the Great in true Vergilian manner and has a reflected, if dimmed, glory in its lines. The second is a most prosy contest between the pagan shepherd Pseustis and the Christian shepherdess Alithia as to the superiority of their separate faiths.

2. Three necrologies eulogizing the virtues of ecclesiastics: the *ecloga duarum sanctimonialium* appended to Radbert Paschasius' Life of Adalhard of Corbie (died 826; the founder of Corvey), in which Philis and Galathea mourn the death of husband and father.³ Burchard of Reichenau's poem in praise of the abbot Witigowo (*ca.* 997).⁴ The *ecloga* which Agius (Poeta Saxo?) appended to the Life of Hadumod, his sister, who died as abbess of Gandersheim in 874.⁵ Of the three, Agius is the only one who achieves either pathos or poetry, when he subdues his own grief to comfort Hadumod's sorrowing nuns.

3. Two conflictus, one the contest between rose and lily by Sedulius Scottus (*ca.* 840), the other an anonymous struggle between summer and winter, sometimes attributed to Alcuin but presumably the dull school-task of one of his pupils. Both of these, I imagine, are reglossings of vernacular *streitgedichte*, the former allegorical in its symbolism, the latter pastoral (chorus of shepherds). They vacillate between a more correct diction modeled on learned sources like Vergil, the *disticha Catonis*, etc., and a rougher style which is apparently reminiscent of their popular source.⁶

4. Terence and the *delusor*.

¹ Dümmler, *Poetae aevi Karolini*, I, 384; *Neues Archiv*, XI, 77; Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 157.

² Osternacher, *Theoduli ecloga* (1902); Vollmer, *Monatschrift für die kirchliche Praxis* (1904), 321 ff.

³ Traube, *Poetae aevi Karolini*, III, 45; *O Roma nobilis* (1891), 14.

⁴ Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 167. Because of this "eclogue," as well as because of twelfth- and thirteenth-century conflictus (Gröber, *op. cit.*, 391), I do not understand how Winterfeld can say: "The age of the eclogue is closely limited. It begins with Charles the Great and lasts barely a hundred years."

⁵ Traube, *Poetae aevi Karolini*, III, 369; Hüffer, *Korveier Studien*, I.

⁶ Cf. Traube, "Perrona Scottorum," *Münchener Sitzungsberichte* (1900), 495.

With this material before him Winterfeld asserts that it was in the eclogue-form alone that the artistic poetry of the Carolingian renaissance found its way to the *mimus*, to real life itself. In all other ways, he contends, the archaizing tendencies of this renaissance with its pretentious copying of ancient literature retarded *mimus* (*das lebendige leben*) because before Notker no poet, not even Walafrid Strabo, dared be himself. For the moment, then, Winterfeld thinks of *mimus* as realism.

Immediately, however, he turns to the mimes of Sophron, Theocritus, and Herodas. This sort of eclogue which they wrote, he says, was one of the forms of mimic poetry, accepted and popular for centuries because of its dramatic cast, its dialogue, and the naturalness with which it portrayed life. It was a recited *mimus* given by one person (often the poet himself¹) and a definite type of mimic literature.

Now this is true. But where in the list of eight eclogues of the Carolingian and later times do we find such mimi as those of Herodas or Theocritus? Modoin's and Gottschalk's poems we can in any sense whatever call mimi only because they were limping imitations of Vergilian eclogues, which in their turn were artificial (if beautiful) imitations of the manner of Theocritus' idylls. Neither Modoin nor Gottschalk ever wrote a real *mimus*, a recited poem, that is, which although dressed up for a court-audience was yet derived from the real life and characters of their own day. The only mimic thing in the work of either of them is that they used the dead husks of a dialogue-form and of the pastoral convention which had really had life instilled into it a thousand years and more before them.

Now as to Terence and the *delusor*. It looks little like an eclogue, for it is neither a vapid rewarming of the diction of Vergil, a retold vernacular *streitgedicht*, nor yet a cry of praise for a dead ecclesiastic; it is coarse, living, and filled with a note of rough bravado. I do not agree with Winterfeld that this farce was ever acted, for there is no proof on this point, despite what he would cite as stage-directions. And the source of it may be, as Rand thinks, occasioned by Terence's own retorts to Lanuvinus.² But if I did believe with

¹ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXXIV, 207; Weil, *Journal des savants* (1891), 672.

² Cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, 404.

Winterfeld that different types of mimic performances survived in the Dark Ages in Europe, I should claim for this piece continuity with the Roman past and make it a main prop of my contention. For this is the first thing we have so far met in all our travels which would suggest in spirit and form Roman *paegnion*; if anywhere in Christian Europe there is an example of Roman slap-stick mime, here it is. Not in its original form, doubtless, any more than *Oxyrhynchus 413* is an original piece, but at least conceivably the derivative of an Italian original.

V. MIMUS AND HISTORICAL BALLAD

Widukind and Ekkehard tell us of the existence of many historical ballads of the ninth and tenth centuries.¹ In the former's history of the Saxons, for example, we are informed that in the year 915 Duke Henry of Saxony so annihilated the Franks "that the mimi chanted, Where is there a hell wide enough to hold so big a score of dead!"² *Mimus* here, of course, means a professional ballad-singer, and, since Lachmann at least, none has doubted that Widukind was referring to a phrase from a German historical folksong.

Another such *volkslied* from a previous generation is the song of the fight at Fontenoy (843)³ composed by "Angilbert who fought in the front rank and escaped alive alone of all those with him in the van." Now Winterfeld calls this Angilbert *mimus*, and again a *mimus* in the sense of ballad-singer he was, unless he lied, for he wrote a ballad. *Mimus* in any other sense (juggler, entertainer, court-jester, singer fresh from Italy) he was not.

Another historical ballad which Winterfeld assigns to a *mimus* is the one celebrating Pepin's victory over the Avari,⁴ written in the same style and the same meter as the Fontenoy song. This poem Winterfeld connects with a lost Latin ballad on the Iron Charles written by a Frankish minstrel (*mimus*), which is the basis for the story Notker tells us in the *Gesta Karoli*.⁵ In one place at least the

¹ Cf. Kelle, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, I, 378 f.

² Widukindi, *Res gestae Saxonicae* ed. Waitz (1882); finished 968 A.D. with a short continuation a few years later. Ker (*Dark Ages*, 187) says: "Widukind had the national love of ballads. It is not difficult to find in his work traces of popular romance."

³ *Poetae aevi Karolini*, II, 138; Meyer von Knonau, *Ueber Nithards vier Bücher Geschichten*, 138 f.

⁴ *Poetae aevi Karolini*, I, 116.

⁵ Book I, chap. xvii.

monk changes the ballad, and Winterfeld tells us "it is high praise for the mimus that even a genius such as Notker can but spoil where he alters his original." Winterfeld's attempted reconstruction of the ballad is suggestive, but less convincing is his remark that it was always a profession known as mimi who composed ballads on the campaigns and fights in which they personally shared. Even the passage from Guy of Amiens (died 1076),¹

Histrio cor audax nimium quem nobilitabat,
Incisor-ferri mimus cognomine dictus,

which relates to the Norman Taillefer, need not find general application for all contingencies and occasions of the three previous centuries.

It would not be important to note this, if it were not that Winterfeld attempts to generalize widely from the poems on Fontenoy and the Avari. Their meter, he says, was the one used for all sorts of themes in sacred and secular balladry from the Merovingian times;² it was at the same time one of the commonest in Roman comedy and beloved by the mass of the people. The mimi of the Merovingian epoch, he believes, had greater poetic talent than the whole Round-Table of Charles the Great. He asserts that they handed down their work in the period long before 800 from father to son, from teacher to pupil—presumably an oral tradition, as the character of the transmission shows. The later copies which were written down are not by the mimi but by the monks, or copies of such work written down from memory.

Deriving straight then from the mimi of Rome, existing as a professional class of minstrels throughout the Merovingian days, fighting and singing for their masters, Winterfeld pictures the authors of our historical ballads and other secular lays. We may believe this or not as we will—the evidence does not prove it.³ All

¹ *Carmen de expeditione Wilhelmi*; Michel, *Chroniques anglo-normandes*, III (1840); *Monumenta historica Britanniae*, I, 856; cf. also Wace, *Roman de Rou*, iii, 8035, quoted by Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 43.

² Wilhelm Meyer, *Der ludus de Antichristo*, 79.

³ Winterfeld has a way of omitting evidence which does not make for his contention of southern mimi: e.g., the story of the Lombard minstrel (*joculator ex Langobardorum gente*) who led Charles the Great over Mount Cenis and as a reward asked all the land to which the sound of his horn could penetrate; cf. *Chronicon Novaliciense* (*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, VII, 73 ff.), written about 1050. Kögel thought to find traces of alliteration in the Latin prose translation of the chronicle; see also Schröder's "retranslation" in *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XXXVII, 127.

we do know is that poets of one sort and another have left us a few ringing songs in the shape of battle-lays and popular songs; and naturally enough the Latin word commonly employed for such poets was *mimi*.

VI. MIMUS AND SATIRICAL SONGS

There is nothing in all the satirical poetry of Europe from the sixth century to the eleventh which hints at the existence of Italian *mimi* in this period. To be sure, Winterfeld cites and translates as the work of such *mimi* two satirical pieces: the tale of the abbot of Angers,¹ a rollicking drinking-song which deserves inclusion in the *kommersbuch*, and the quarrel in execrable rhythmic (rhymed?) prose of two Merovingian bishops, Importunus and Chrodebert.² The former is presumably of Charles the Great's time, the other about the year 665. We have no hint as to the author of either, he may have been a monk, a professional minstrel, or for that matter a man in any other walk of life. In so far, however, as he was known to the people of his time as author of such poetizing, he might be called *mimus*, for *mimus* was the Latin word in certain centuries for that sort of poet. Neither of them has any establishable connection with the Roman *mimus*; in fact, as both pieces seem to spring straight from the observance of contemporary occurrences, and to be the result of some animus on the part of those who wrote them, I should judge both to be the work of native authors who disliked most to see such abbots and bishops—the work of honest churchmen, perhaps.

The poet who lampooned the *mimus*—court-fool—of King Miro of Galicia in the sixth century was a Frankish minstrel, doubtless. He may or may not have had his training from Italy; there is no reason why he should have had or should not.³ The author of the

¹ Dümmler, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XXIII, 262, 265; Ebert, *ibid.*, XXIV, 147; Zarncke, *ibid.*, XXV, 25.

² Zeumer, *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi* (1886), 220; Paul Meyer, *Recueil des textes bas-latins*, 8. Krusch once called this "das wahrste Denkmal der Merowingerzeit." It was for work like this that Gregory of Tours once reproved King Chilperich as severely as if he had murdered people instead of rhythm. Cf. *Historia Francorum*, Book VI, chap. xlv: "confectique duos libros quasi Sedulium meditatus, quorum versiculi debiles nullis pedibus subsistere possunt, in quibus, dum non intellegebat, pro longis sillabas breves posuit et pro breves longas statuebat; et alia opuscula vel ymnos sive missas, quae nulla ratione suscipi possunt"; Winterfeld, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XLVII, 73.

³ Heyne, *Alteutsch-lateinische Spielmannsgedichte des x. Jahrhunderts* (1900), xxiv; *Das alteutsche Handwerk* (1908), 110; Reich, *Der Mimus*, I, 826; Allen, *Modern Philology*, VI, 402; from *Opera Gregorii Turonensis*, edd. Arndt-Krusch, II, 651.

quip about Uodalrih, the brother-in-law of Charles the Great, was a Frankish minstrel likewise, at least it is from a German song translated into the Latin prose of Notker that we hear of him.¹

There is, further, no possible linking with Roman *mimus* of any of the other satirical quips and songs from early times: the mocking of Liubene's daughter, of the man from Chur, of timid count Hugo, of Little John the monk. Not only can a source in Roman *mimus* not be established for these pieces and for others slightly later in date,² but it would seem more reasonable to believe them the natural outcropping of the mood of the moment, of Swabian humor and sarcasm, or of equally effective French irony, than to refer them by indirection to Rome.

Now it is true, unfortunately true, that in his culture the mediaeval man belonged first of all to the church which was the *ecclesia catholica*,³ after that to his cloister, and that there are in his writings but few traces of his racial character. But when a keen sense discovers lurking beneath the dull exterior of inept mediaeval Latin some trace of native art, of provincial art, why then must we exchange this treasured birthright for the pottage of an Italian *mimus*?

VII. MIMUS AND SACRED BALLADS

One can scarcely forbear smiling at the oracular statement with which Winterfeld begins his argument that Roman *mimi* and their descendants wrote sacred ballads. "The church and its teachers had denounced the *mimus*," he says, "but had failed to suppress him." There can be no doubt of this, for many records tell the story. But Winterfeld continues: "Thereupon the church did not make its peace with the *mimus*, but a part of the *mimi* made theirs with the church. Such a rhythmic poem as Chilperic wrote about St. Medardus would be inconceivable except for the *mimus*, for the *mimus* had begun as early as the Merovingian epoch to clothe biblical and legendary material in this rhythmic form."

As no further explanation is vouchsafed us in the matter, we

¹ Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*³, No. viii.

² For further discussion of all such available early songs and bibliography of them cf. *Modern Philology*, III, 437; V, 44 ff.; VI, 402.

³ Cf. Winterfeld, *Stilfragen aus der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 12; Allen, *Modern Philology*, VI, 172 ff.

can only conclude that Winterfeld again refers to *minus* as minstrel; not Roman minstrel, but any realistic poet. What he achieves thereby is problematical, unless he regards it as strange that all biblical legends were not told in metrical form, and by monks. Of the several legendary themes which he mentions, the most popular ones were those dealing with Antichrist and the descent of Christ into hell.¹ An example of the latter sort, an ABC-poem, speaks of the court of a king and tells us of the audience there gathered at Eastertide:

Abbati juncti simul et neophitae.
Hymnorum sonus modulantur clerici
Ad aulam regis et potentes personae;
Procul exclusit saeculares fabulas. . . .

abbots, those newly baptized, churchmen, influential laymen, sing hymns in the court of the king who has forbidden secular stories for the day; and in this aristocratic and pious company Winterfeld believes "the *minus* too sings of Christ's death, of his descent into hell, and resurrection." But why *minus*? Simply because the poem has a popular theme such as a minstrel might choose.

Other sacred materials of a popular sort Winterfeld for like reason ascribes to *minus*: the poem on the destruction of Jerusalem which is worked out realistically after the manner of Josephus, so that not even the stench of the rotting corpses is left to our imagination; the story of St. Placidus which is treated so sympathetically as to be more effective than Herder's handling of the same theme in his *Wiedergefundener Sohn*; the poem on Antichrist over which there broods a mood like unto dark night at noonday, from whose lines a true poet speaks. Why *minus*?

Just because here and there in sacred balladry a vivid picture, a real emotion, a direct and unvarnished diction appear; only because no canting monk is speaking, but some earnest poet-preacher who is talking better than his fellows in an early time. We shall never know who such authors were, but they are *mini* only if that word denotes one of whatever walk of life, amateur or professional, who happens to write an effective rhythm on some religious legend.

¹ Cf. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XLVII (1903), 89; *Neues Archiv*, XXV, 406; Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, II (1888), 91.

Surely in no other field of mediaeval writing should we be so surprised to see a song accorded the descendant of a Roman mimus, because of its realistic fervor, as in the field of sacred balladry. From the days of Augustine and Jerome at least to those of Bernard of Morlais the allurements and the rottenness of the world were depicted by poet-monks in a fashion more satirical and naturalistic than modern convention sanctions. There was that in the training and practice of monasticism which wrung the souls of strong men;¹ there was that in life as it was sometimes led in the Dark Ages which impelled clerks to an occasional materialism which sounds odd enough today. But that in all the sombre vision-literature, the dire prophecy, the grim poetry based upon Old Testament story and legend, there is not a ranker growth of materialism than actually exists—this fact may cause us to wonder, not the fact that there is any. It is to my mind no stranger that a Merovingian man of God should be a realist, than that a court-chaplain of the twelfth century should edit a codification of the *Rules of Love*, a book which enjoyed every whit of the authority of Cavendish on *Whist*, or that a Franciscan friar of the Renaissance should swear he had employed eighteen consecutive hours in copying Ovid's *De remedio amoris* and all "for the glorification of the Virgin Mary." We must take what we find without prejudice. The bishops Importunus and Chrodebert are living figures from an early age, even if their lineaments be somewhat distorted by the caricature in which we learn of them.

CONCLUSION

If we use the word mimus, as we should not, to mean any realistic and living portrayal in prose or poetry for one thousand years, then I believe that mimus is the source of mediaeval jongleur and spielmann, the fountain-head of Romance and Germanic literature.

If we use the word mimus, as we should, to mean such dramatic performances and actors, such vaudeville entertainers as existed in fifth-century Rome, then I believe the mediaeval mimi—minstrels and poets—had no connection with the southern mimus.

¹ Recall as a single example of such travail the poem *De monacho cruciatu in Hagen, Carmina medii aevi*, 178.

Such connection at least is nowhere visible in the poetry and prose of the European Dark Ages. And in all the chronicles and records from the writings of Jerome, Paulinus of Nola, and Salvianus of Marseilles down to the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury we may nowhere say surely what is meant by the loosely applied word *mimus*, unless the record particularly specify. Even then, as is the case with Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*, we are often less wise than when we began.

EXCURSUS

MIMUS AND ITS SYNONYMS IN SAXO GRAMMATICUS

In studying the records from the fifth to the sixteenth century which refer to *mimus*, and its synonyms *scurra*, *histrio*, *scenicus*, *joculator*, we are confronted by a constant difficulty. For we are never sure of what any of these words means, except when it refers in a loose way to a popular but despised race of entertainers "*qui nil sciunt preter insanire.*" There are four reasons for this:

1. The church councils which for many centuries published decrees against the *mimi* and their fellows were handed down from one generation to another in transumptis which were often almost identical in their phrasing. Because of this, and because of their failure to gloss the word *mimus* except by accompanying it with a long list of words which referred to all sorts of entertainers and dissolute people, we cannot ever judge from one of these decrees just what the status or occupation of the *mimus* was at any given time.

2. The church penitentials, naturally enough, viewed the activity of *mimi* from an ethical and not from a cultural point of view. We cannot therefore read from such records a sane statement of how any particular age regarded its entertainers; witness the description of Thomas de Cabham, for example.

3. It is frequently not safe to derive conclusions regarding the way in which an age fostered *mimi* from the writings of some historian of that age. Cassiodorus [sixth century], Leidrad of Lyons [eighth], Notker Labeo [tenth], John of Salisbury [twelfth] are good examples of this fact, which can be proved equally well by a score of other writers. For these men in discussing the *mimi* and their activities had in mind what the *mimi* of classical antiquity had

been, and borrowed much of their description of the mimi from classical sources, instead of giving us a picture drawn from the state of affairs in their own day.

4. We are often misled, almost universally misled, if we translate mediaeval mentions of *mimus*, *scurra*, *histrio*, etc., as their etymology would tempt us to. *Mimus*, that is, as it appears in monkish and scholastic Latin during the Middle Ages, does not mean pantomime or mimic portrayer; *scenicus* has nothing to do with stage; *histrio* no longer means actor, etc.

It is, then, labor lost to build up theories regarding the continuance of drama, farce, the art of acting, transmission of various forms of novel, romance, lyric, fable, from any or all of the manifold records regarding mimi, as we yet have them. It is not impossible that new sources of knowledge may be discovered which will tell their tale so clearly that we can use them to construct a more definite picture of the traditions of literary form in the Dark Ages than we now have. But, pending such new discoveries, and for the four reasons above given, we should be exceedingly slow to accept the rather fanciful portrayals of mimi in Europe quoted in the preceding parts of my study.

Now quite a number of the men who wrote about the mimi and their fellows must have known what they were talking about. It would, therefore, seem a foregone conclusion that if there had been at any time previous to the twelfth century, say, well-defined classes of mimi practicing various forms of a settled and traditional art, the historians [or some of them—or one of them] would have gladly given information of these matters. But this point, which apparently requires no proof, is slow to be accepted by many students of the origins of mediaeval literature, chiefly, I think, because they do not believe that men in central and northern Europe during the early Middle Ages could have recreated different literary types, except upon the basis of an inherited transmission of these forms from the south. Many students, thus, like Chambers and Reich, have studied the records not as they are, but as they should be. They have learned not for purpose of wisdom, but for argument and dialectic. And so they have found that for which they were searching, which is, after all, not surprising, for I have never yet

seen a critic approach the monuments of the Dark Ages with a fixed idea in mind without having his pre-conception almost instantly confirmed. "Seek and ye shall find!" is a philological axiom.

I have often wondered why the Danish history of Saxo "the lettered" has not been used to show what *mimus* meant to the Germanic peoples at least¹ during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For Saxo's references² have more value than any other ones I know, and for two reasons. First, we understand from the *Gesta*, more clearly than we do from any other chronicle I remember, the nature of the person and the circumstance which call forth the appellation *mimus* (*scurra*, *histrio*, *scenicus*, *joculator*); second, Saxo paints the scenes in which these five words are used so graphically that we cannot fail to catch his instant purpose. I append a short synopsis of these passages, because I believe they aid materially in establishing the fact that *mimus* at the beginning of the Middle Ages was a term of such general meaning that students cannot use it or its synonyms to directly further any theory which regards southern entertainers as the source of modern prose and poetry.

I [Holder, 185]. Starkad betakes himself to Hakon, tyrant of Denmark, because he is tired of the public wantonness of the dancers, their idle clatter, their ringing of bells, at the fair in Upsala when the city is crowded with strangers come to observe the season of carnival which accompanies the sacrifices.³ "Ad Haconem Danie tyrannum se contulit quod apud Upsalam sacrificiorum tempore constitutus, effeminatos corporum motus scenicosque mimorum plausus ac mollia nolarum crepitacula fastidiret."

¹ Although this restriction of the meaning of the word is doubtless unnecessary, for Saxo presumably employs the term *mimus* as other historians of his time did. The whole character of his writing shows him to have possessed some of the best of the learning of his day—there is small reason to think he had not acquired his training at a foreign university, Paris perhaps, like his contemporary, Anders Suneson, and many other cultured Danes. Why, then, argue that he spoke of *mimus* and the other words for entertainer except as any historian of his age—the close of the twelfth century—would have done?

² *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum*, ed. Holder (1886), 81, 133, 185, 186, 195, 203.

³ No account of the temple-feast at Upsala is given, but in Book XIV (Holder, 564 f.) Saxo describes the religious rites at a heathen temple in Rügen. The following lines picture the crowd and the carnival: "Semel quotannis, post lectas fruges, promiscua totius insule [i.e., Rügen] frequentia ante edem simulacre [Squanto-Vitus], litatis pecudum hostilis, solenne epulum, religionis nomine celebrabat. . . . His ita peractis, reliquum diei plenis luxurie epulis exigentes, ipsas sacrificii dapes in usum conuiuii et gule nutrimenta uertere, consecratas numini victimas intemperantie sue seruire cogentes. In quo epulo sobrietatem uiolare pium estimatum est, seruare nefas habitum."

To translate "scenicos mimorum" with Elton¹ by "of the mimes on the stage" is unwarrantable, unless we dissociate from our idea of stage all thought of actor, play, and playhouse. It is true that in much earlier Latin the noun *scenica* meant "loca lusibus publicis addicta, ut sunt circi, theatra, et ejusmodi," but here as in two other passages in Saxo the adjective *scenicus* can mean only "idle, empty, wanton, dissolute." *Mimus* in the passage above quoted denotes a dancer, a noise-maker, and a ringer of bells (or one dressed in clothes hung with bells).

II [Holder, 186]. Starkad went with Hakon and his fleet to Ireland, whose king, Huggleik, was never "generous to any respectable man, but spent all his bounty upon mimes and jugglers (*mimos ac ioculatores*). For so base a fellow was bound to keep friendly company with the base, and such a slough of vices to wheedle his partners in sin with pandering endearments (*blandimentorum lenocinio*). Still he had Geigad and Swipdag, who, by the singular luster of their warlike deeds, shone out among their unmanly companions (*effeminatorum consorcia*) like jewels embedded in ordure. When a battle began between Huggleik and Hakon, the hordes of mimes (*mimorum greges*), whose lightmindedness unsteadied their bodies, scurried off in panic. Starkad conquered, killing Huggleik and routing the Irish; and he had any of the actors (*quoscumque ex histrionibus*) beaten whom chance made prisoner; thinking it better to order a pack of buffoons (*scurrarum agmen*) to be ludicrously punished than to take their lives. Thus he visited with a disgraceful chastisement the baseborn throng of jugglers (*iocularis ministerii*)."

I have purposely quoted the translation of Elton, because it employs the technical words indicating different professions: mime, juggler, actor, buffoon. But Elton has translated these terms into the passage, not out of it. Saxo calls the rabble of parasites which composes Huggleik's army *mimi*, *ioculatores*, *histriones*, and *scurrae*, just as he denominates them "partners in sin," "panders," "vicious," "ordure," "lightminded," and "base"—to show what a herd of swine they were. Just as we use the names of certain of the most disgraceful professions today as a term of harsh reproach, with never a thought of the professions themselves, so they did in the twelfth century—so undoubtedly man has always done.

¹ Cf. Elton, *The First Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus* (1894), 228

III [Holder, 203]. Starkad is sulking at the table of King Ingild, son of Frode IV of Denmark. Ingild's queen, to soothe him, bade a piper (*tibicine de industria*) strike up. But "the crestfallen performer learnt that it is in vain for buffoons to assail with their tricks (*frustra scurrarum lusibus attentari*) a settled sternness. Starkad flung the bone, which he had stripped in eating the meat, in the face of the harlequin (*gesticulantis*) and drove the wind violently out of his puffed cheeks. By this act he showed how his austerity loathed the clatter of the stage (*scenicos plausus*). This reward, befitting an actor (*dignum histrione*), punished an unseemly performance. None could say whether the minstrel (*mimus*) piped or wept the harder. Then, to revile the actor (in *histrionis* suggillationem) more at length, Starkad composed a song." Again, as in the preceding quotation, professional names, *mimus*, *scenicus*, *scurra*, *histrion*, and all to indicate what? A piper. Nowhere better than here can we see how little the heaping-up of lists of class-names so dear to mediaeval chronicles betokens a catalogue of different professions. A second time Elton's translation of "*scenicos*" by "stage" instead of by "idle" or "wanton" is unconvincing. The next paragraph decides the matter.

IV [Holder, 81]. Odin has been told by Rostioph the Finn that a son must be born to him by Rinda, daughter of the king of the Ruthenians. So the god disguises himself as a woman and pretends to be something of a physician. Rinda falls sick, and her father consents to her being bound, as so bitter a drug is prescribed for her by the deceitful Odin that she otherwise could not endure its effects. While she is unconscious Odin accomplishes his dishonest purpose. Because of his assuming the garb of a woman and because of his wanton practices many people adjudged him unworthy to return from his ten years' exile and resume his rank, since he had brought the foulest scandal on the name of the gods. "Extitire tamen, qui ipsum recuperande dignitatis aditu indignum censerent, quod *scenicis artibus* et muliebris officii suscepcione teterrimum diui nominis opprobrium edidisset." Even in this place Elton adheres to his translation of "stage tricks" for "*scenicis artibus*," but we may now disregard him, in so far at least as "stage" means to us "pertaining to the boards of a playhouse." The wan-

dering minstrels had many tricks in their trade—if Saxo's word means aught more than "idle" or "wanton," then it means simply such things as the minstrel did: i.e., dressing up as a woman, playing the quack-physician, perhaps even portraying with his *spilwib* some crude pantomime of lust.

V [Holder, 133]. Eric Mál-spaki (the Shrewd-Spoken), son of Ragnar the champion, by eating the black part of the magic snake-pottage prepared by his stepmother Kraka had become wise to an incredible degree. When he comes to war against the Danes he is approached by the scurrilous Grep, son of Westmar, a guardian of young Frode, and the inevitable flyting ensues. Says Grep to the mighty Eric:

Thou art thought to be as full of quibbling as a cock of dirt;
Thou stinkest heavy with filth, and reekest of nought but sin.
There is no need to lengthen the plea against a buffoon,
Whose strength is in an empty and voluble tongue.¹

The fourth line explains succinctly why Grep calls the Swedish hero a *scurra* (buffoon)—he would make Eric appear *an empty braggart*.

VI [Holder, 195]. Helge the Norwegian, suitor for the hand of Helga the daughter of Frode IV of Denmark, has impetuously agreed to fight singlehanded Anganty of Zealand, a rival suitor, and his eight brothers. Impelled by his dread of the unequal combat Helge sends a messenger to Starkad in Upsala inviting him to the wedding of Frode's daughter, secretly hoping for the great hero's help. But Starkad is pleased to consider the invitation an insult and turning on Helge's messenger tells him "he must think Starkad like some buffoon or trencherman is accustomed to rush off to the reek of a distant kitchen for the sake of a richer diet" (se scurre uel parasiti more laucioris alimonie gracia ad aliene culine nidorem decurrere solitum existimauerit). Here *scurra* is used of one whose chief concern is the lining of his paunch—a *glutton*:

From the preceding passages of Saxo's history we see two things: first, *mimus* and its synonyms were used indiscriminately to indicate any sort of vulgar entertainer; second, these words more often

¹ Vt gallus ceni, sic litis plenus haberis;
Sorde gravis putes, nec nisi crimen oles.
Aduersum scurram causam producere non est,
Qui vacua uocis mobilitate uiget.

connote simply idleness and baseness. It is important to note that, so far as we may read from the writings of Saxo, there is often little if any difference in content and manner between court-poetry and the sort of poetry which critics have assigned to the *mimi*:

[Holder, 208]: *Pascit, ut porcum, petulans maritum,
Impudens scortum natibusque fidens
Gratis admissum tolerare penem
Crimini stupri.*

[Holder, 140]: *Quando tuam limas admissa cote bipennem,
Nonne terit tremulas mentula quassa nates?—
"Ut cuivis natura pilos in corpore sevit,
Omnis nempe suo barba ferenda loco est.
Re Veneris homines artus agitare necesse est;
Motus quippe suos nam labor omnis habet.
Cum natis excipitur nate, vel cum subdita penem
Vulva capit, quid ad haec addere mas renuit?"*

Such passages as these, which are by no means unique in Saxo, show clearly enough that the gulf between native Germanic singer and foreign *mimus*, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries at least, was one of the former's jealous making, rather than one which existed in fact. The *mimus* was abjured, because he took away the court-poet's audience,¹ and the latter revenged himself by calling him utterly depraved and ever adverting to his foreign origin. Who were these foreigners in the Germanic north? Winterfeld would derive them straight from Rome, if he had remembered his Saxo; but there is no reason to go so far afield. I imagine them simply graceless German ne'er-do-wells, *spilmänner* and *spielweiber*, detested by an old house-carle like Starkad, as were the cooking and luxury introduced in the eleventh century from Germany. One of their nobler brothers from Saxony is the *cantor* who tried in vain to warn Kanute of a conspiracy against his life by singing the song of Grimhild's treachery to her brothers [Holder, 427].

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¹ F. York Powell cites in this connection *Corpus poeticum boreale*, I, 255, 530; II, 275 f., 327. The court-poet's pride in his achievements lingers in the legend of how the Danes gave the crown to Hiarn [Hjarrand the harper] because he wrote so beautiful an ode to dead Frode [Holder, 172].

NOTES ON MEDIAEVAL LYRICS

PAUL VON WINTERFELD'S CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS TO THE TEXT OF *HILARII VERSUS ET LUDI*

Prior to the acquisition by the University of Chicago of the *Handapparat* of the lamented Paul von Winterfeld, I was unable in more than a dozen passages to make sense of Hilary's verses (ed. Champollion Figeac, Paris, 1838). As several of these places have been mended for me by marginal notations in Winterfeld's handwriting, I feel that it is only fair both to my co-workers and to the memory of Winterfeld to publish these notes. They follow without comment of my own:

Page 3, line 13, *for quadem read quadam.*

9, 3, *for infirmus read infirmum?*

9, 12, *for suam read Sodom.*

10, 20, *for dictavit read ditavit.*

10, 21, *for prodens read prudens, and omit preceding comma.*

10, 22, *for prudens read pudens.*

17, 12, *for tandem read tandem.*

21, 8, *for Et read 'E.'*

22, 19, *for (tibi) read (factus).*

32, 16, *for ferens read fetens.*

34, place periods at end of verses 8 and 12.

37, 10 *for portasti read portastis*—"der schreiber trennte portasti sposita und liess in sp das s aus, wie immer."

40, 5, *for supido read Cupido.*

41, 4, *for una read verna*—"cf. ix, 6, 2 vernacula."

57, *for Novis deus quod lacum*

Nescio, neque locum

De quo fit mencio—

read *Novit deus, quod lacum nescio*

Neque locum, de quo fit mencio.

57, 22, *for leonem read leonum.*

60, 8 *for juxit read edixit.*

For sources or analogues, Winterfeld cites p. 20, l. 13, *Versus de hermafrodito*, 21, 5 *Horat. carm. I.*, 4; 23, 17 *imag. in Carm. Bur.*

AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY LOVE SONG

For two years I have speculated about the song which I print and translate below; nor am I yet content with what I know about it. But I dislike to wait longer to present it, for it seems to me most important in what it implies: that earlier than we ordinarily imagine European poetry had the note of abandon, of reckless self-surrender, the erotic, personal note which we usually associate with the goliard Latin songs and the Provençal songs of the last part of the twelfth century.

There is nothing like our song in that beautiful treasury of ninth- and tenth-century lyrics and ballads, the so-called Cambridge MS, nor yet in other tenth- and eleventh-century MSS of poetry. These other codices, I not only grant but I insist, had poems more effective, more beautiful. But none of them to my knowledge contains a song so sensual and concrete as this.

Its poor author apparently could not make proper rhythms; he had not the art of rhyme; his imagery is largely that furnished him a thousand fold by saint's life, hymn, and sacred invocation. So far, then, as the whole manner of his verses is concerned—and much of his commonplace matter—they can be multiplied again and again from ecclesiastical and didactic literature of his and an earlier day. It is, however, not the poet's art that holds us.

But the *sichgehenlassen*—the frank confession—the lack of thought for the consequences; where else so early do we find them in an erotic piece which speaks in a warm breath of the mistress Flora, of flowers, and of spring? I do not argue; I ask. And none more glad than I, if other eleventh-century lyrics be brought to light which have the note of this one.

Eleventh-century? Why? The song is found in two MSS, one of the twelfth, the other of the thirteenth century. But its surroundings, in which are many eleventh-century pieces; its verbiage, which is still largely that of poems written by known eleventh-century authors; the very poverty and leanness of its whole manner and guise; its hesitant and unimaginative art—these seem to speak, in almost every line, of poetry written before the light and graceful schemes of rhyming which the twelfth and thirteenth centuries knew.

Let my reader study these things on his own initiative. Let him

turn from this song to the love lays of later MSS—Queen Christine, St. Omer, Benedictbeuern; and he will agree with me. And for philological aid in the matter I refer him to two articles by Wattenbach¹ and a recent, most adequate dissertation.²

Ambrosian flowers, the crocus fresh, the violet,
 Spring's lilies mingled with the tender rose,
 To me of no such beauty now appear,
 Nor yet with such a pleasing fragrance fraught
 As thou, my Flora, when thou spend'st thy sweets.
 These flowers, 'tis true, allure our outward sense,
 But thou mak'st glad the senses and the heart.
 Thou more than breathest forth their redolence,
 Yea, thou art essence of sweet Love itself.
 Ah, happy he, close-clasped in thy embrace,
 Who, sighing deep with bliss, drinks in the breath
 From thy half-opened lips which lure him on.
 When with the virgin's breast his breast is one,
 When he sips honey from her yellow combs,
 Then can no tardy prick of conscience come,
 Sickness and pain may torture him no more.
 And though dire winter with its killing frost
 Doth halt the rivers in their long career,
 Yet then comes spring with every ravishment.
 What more can heart desire? Ne'er mayest thou
 Discover aught more worthy of thy search,
 To such a treasure need no new be joined.³

¹ *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1891, 97–114; *Neues Archiv*, 1892, 351–84.

² Gertrud Stockmayer, *Ueber Naturgefühl in Deutschland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1910.

³ Ambrosie flores violeque crocique recentes,
 Vernaque cum teneris lilia mixta rosIs,
 Non tantum forma nec odere placere videntur,
 Quantum, Flora, michi suavia dando places.
 Nempe iuvant flores hos sensus exteriores,
 Tu vero sensus cordaque nostra foves.
 Nec tu, Flora, levem spiras michi floris odorem,
 Ipsius at flores dulcis amoris oles.
 Felix qui talem, qui te complexus odorem
 Sugit ab ore gemens semipatente tuo.
 Quid? cum virgineo cum pectore pectora lungit,
 Et libat flavis condita mellia favis,
 Non illum dure mordentes pectora cure,
 Non labor aut morbus sollicitare queunt.
 Quamvis bruma gelu labentia flumina sistat,
 Affluit hic vernis undique deliciis.
 Ultra quid cuplat? nil iam reperire valebit,
 Hiis fortuna bonis addere nulla potest.

The theme of our song is a rare one to come down to us from Europe before Provençal love poetry. But it had many sister-songs, none the less, though our ears shall perhaps never hear them.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

La Fortune Intellectuelle de Herder en France. La Préparation.

By HENRI TRONCHON. Paris: F. Rieder et Cie, 1920. Pp. 570.

This stout volume, which is to be followed by a concluding volume containing "Les résultats" of Herder's intellectual fortunes in France, contains an exhaustive and valuable statement and discussion of the influence of Herder's writings on French thought until about the year 1830.

Starting with a quotation from Quinet, who translated, a quarter of a century after Herder's death, the *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, the author proceeds to write the history of the entrance of Herder's writings into France. Quinet had said of Herder: "Et cet homme est presque inconnu parmi nous! Et son nom n'y réveille ni souvenirs ni sympathie." To this complaint Mr. Tronchon opposes his own thesis, the chief parts of which are that Herder had been known in France from the beginning of his literary activity, that there had been a number of emphatic expressions of sympathy and profound intellectual indebtedness to him on the part of French leaders of thought, but that the influence of Herder's ideas had never been decisive and lasting. Mr. Tronchon supports his contentions by a detailed examination, distinguished by scholarly care and thoroughness and intellectual integrity, of each of the French writers who had been in direct contact with Herder's ideas.

In the introduction Mr. Tronchon surveys Herder's fundamental conceptions. His summary of what he terms Herder's "intellectual physiognomy" is so compact, clear and balanced that it deserves at least partial quotation: "L'essentiel de cette physionomie intellectuelle semble tout d'abord résider en une curiosité passionnée, en une vivacité d'imagination incroyable, toujours en éveil et en quête, qui explore ou côtoie à peu près tous les domaines littéraires ou avoisinant la littérature, et dont un Encyclopédiste même aurait été déconcerté; en une fongueuse universalité de connaissances ou d'associations, les unes illustrant, pénétrant, aidant les autres. Même dans l'histoire des lettres allemandes, où la littérature, l'art, la religion et la philosophie sont solidaires et forment un tout, où tous les grands esprits ont été à la fois savants, philosophes, littérateurs et même théologiens, l'œuvre de Herder garde une place à part. Elle est, dans son entier, d'une ampleur et d'une généralité à n'en décourager aucun, d'une élévation à séduire toutes les âmes un peu hautes: lui-même, ne donnait-il pas à la sienne, comme dominante, le sens de la noblesse?"

The importance of the grasp of the unity within the endless variety of detail, of "les vues d'ensemble"; Herder's suspicion of abstractions, of any

form of "construction dans l'absolu"; his belief that we were created in the first place not for abstract ideas but for concrete actions; above all, his unparalleled sense of the constant process of development in accordance with all the conditions of our environment, that genetic instinct which is characteristic of the modern historical point of view—all these essential features are concisely stated. To the systematic critics of Herder Mr. Tronchon opposes the neat alternative: "N'est-on *philosophe* qu'au prix d'un système? Ou ce titre appartient-il (quoting from Ch. Adam, *La Philosophie en France*) à quiconque provoque un grand mouvement des esprits dans une direction nouvelle?"

In this historical survey, M. Tronchon shows that the critical journals from the first called attention to Herder's works. The *Journal Encyclopédique* discussed briefly and in general terms, but favorably, Herder's *Fragments* only a few months after their appearance. The other journals which early kept him before the French public are the *Gazette des Deux Ponts*, the *Esprit des Journaux*, and *les Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts*. Herder's essay on the "Origin of Language" was the first to make "some noise," becoming the subject of a heated literary controversy, in which the lawyer, Le Brigant, proved an obstinate but ineffective adversary of Herder's theory of the natural growth of language. From 1780 until 1815 the critical interest in his writings constantly increased. Mr. Tronchon gives a full survey with quotations from the principal French journals.

The next bearers of Herder's ideas were first, the returned "Émigrés," but above all Mme de Staël and her "group," whose leader was Benjamin Constant. The chapter on the latter is very interesting and informing. Mr. Tronchon thinks Herder's influence on Constant has to be limited to the realization of the fundamental difference between religious sentiment and the established forms of religion in their bearings on the history of religion. He declines to believe that Herder had any essential part in the idea of perfectibility as it appears in Constant's view of history or in the theory of the genetic relations between religious sentiment and dogma, on the one hand, and the environment, on the other. He accounts for the former by the current French ethical tradition and for the latter by Montesquieu.

It is at this point that the reader becomes uneasily sensible of a gap in the argument. A result, so negative as that stated by Mr. Tronchon, would seem to be too much out of proportion with the volume of discussion of Herder's ideas and the numerous confessions of profound indebtedness on the part of many distinguished French writers, to be conclusive. It is an axiom of induction that every substantive discrepancy between evidence and inference indicates omission of essential factors. Even if the idea of perfectibility and the theory of the milieu were part of the French intellectual tradition of the eighteenth century, yet the change from the conceptions of Montesquieu to those of Constant regarding the genetic processes of history and the elements and relations of environment was too great not to point to the intervention of new formative principles.

The enormous difficulty of weighing the influence of a man like Herder lies in the fact that his original store of formal principles, of analytic terms of classification, is the smallest part of his historical contribution. His greatest service to the expansion of the modern mind is of a different character, difficult to analyze and state, and yet clearly discernible. Herder had the creative gift of exceptional flexibility, resource, and discernment in applying general formal conceptions, analytic generalizations like perfectibility and environment, to every new concrete condition which came under the notice of his indefatigable mind. He had more than any one of his contemporaries, the double gift of distinguishing in every field of reality both the specific and the general, the individual and the universal parts. It is this gift of clothing the few dominant generalizations of an age in the immeasurable richness of concrete individual experience, rather than the rationalistic opposite of stripping the latter to the monotonous poverty of the former, which is the living essence of modern humanism since Herder.

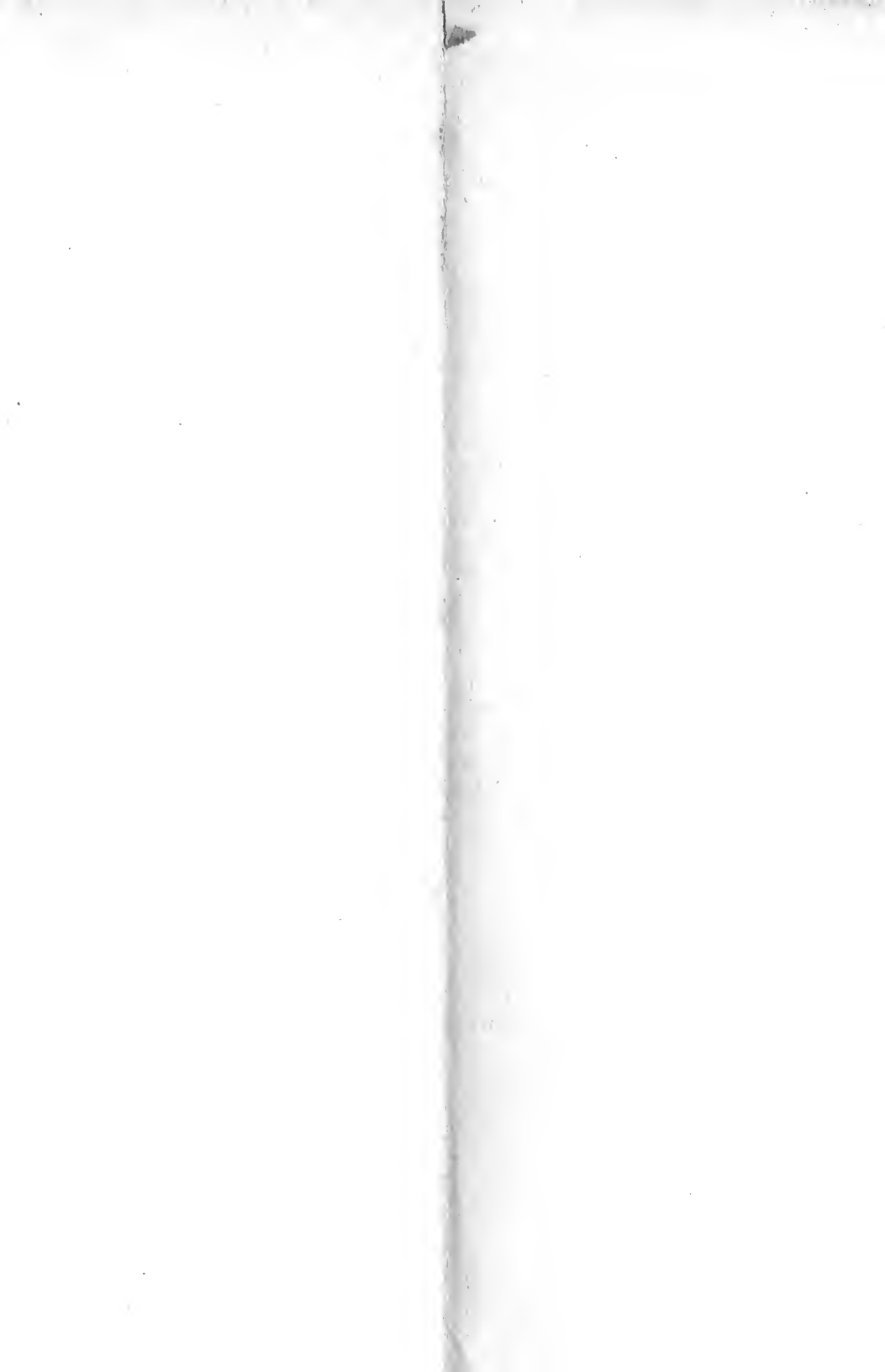
This gift was the source of Herder's genius. He saw the inexhaustible applicability of a few generalizations in the specific forms of individual life. And he taught this outlook to his contemporaries. Even at this day one cannot read his works without being enriched on every page by fresh illuminations, by new concrete revelations of general ideas. Herder reorganized the theories of art, literature, philosophy, religion and history within the double focus of individuality and environment. The reason why a generation after his death few were aware of his particular formulations, was perhaps that by that time the philosophy of history had been transformed largely in Herder's image, and needed no longer the external apparatus of his procedure.

The reviewer ventures the suggestion that Mr. Tronchon might have succeeded in housing a larger harvest from his gathering if he had supplemented his discriminating and thorough analysis of formulated ideas with an attempt to weigh and reduce to terms as precise and just as he did the latter, the synthetic nature of Herder's mind, in which reason was deliberately integrated with feeling and will; to define the *specific factors* in Herder's "*vues d'ensemble*," which would fill much of the gap between the conception of history, characteristic of Montesquieu, and that of Constant and his age. The real problem of Herder's influence is not so much one of *formulated principles* as it is one of *type of synthetic outlook*.

In the remainder of the volume all the other important French writers influenced by Herder pass in review: Barthez, Michel Berr, Degérando, Ballanche, Guizot; De Maister, Bonald, Stendhal; August Comte, Saint-Simon; Quinet and Eckstein. All are interpreted with the same competence, fine intellectual integrity, and discernment.

The promised second volume, which is to bring "*les résultats*," is awaited with much interest.

MARTIN SCHÜTZE



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